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THE EVIDENCES

OF THE

GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPELS.

THE

EVIDENCES

OF THE

GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPELS.

By ANDREWS NORTON,

LATE PROFESSOR OF SACRED HISTORY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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PREFACE.

I BEGAN the work of which I now publish the first volume, in the year 1819; and was then so much in error respecting the inquiries to which it would lead me, that I recollect believing that it might be completed in six months. I have since deceived myself and some of my friends with the expectation of its speedy conclusion. The causes of delay have been partly circumstances merely personal, partly by being occupied by other objects theological and literary, but principally the fact, that the inquiry on which we are about to enter, when thoroughly pursued, presents itself in unexpected relations to many important subjects, all of which it is necessary to examine in order to its satisfactory discussion. As regards some of the principal of these subjects, the truth did not seem to me to have been established; and, as regards every subject that may be embraced in such a work as the present, he who would execute it in a proper manner should examine for himself, trusting as little as possible

to second-hand information, and neither adopting old opinions because they have been acquiesced in, nor new opinions because they have been confidently asserted.

The various bearings of the inquiry have given occasion to the large body of notes contained in this volume. Some of them, as will be perceived, present a detail of the facts on which assertions in the text are founded, and resemble the authorities annexed to an historical work. Others are properly dissertations on subjects intimately connected with the main question, though they possess at the same time an independent interest. In these dissertations, as well as in the text of the work, I have endeavoured so to explain myself as to be readily understood by all intelligent readers, whether familiar with theological studies or not.

I have published this volume separately, because it completes one division of the work intended, containing the statement of the testimony of the great body of early Christians to the Genuineness of the Gospels. It likewise comprises as large a number of subjects as it may be well to present at once to the attention of my readers; and, such being the case, I was desirous of saving this portion of my labors from the accidents to which a manuscript is exposed.

It is my purpose next to show the strong confirmation of the more direct historical evidence afforded by the manner in which the Gospels were regarded by the early Gnostic heretics; a field which, though not untrodden, has been unexplored; and then to proceed to the collateral evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels, to be derived from their character and contents. But it may be observed that this volume is, in its nature, an independent work, and might have been so published, had no others been intended to follow.

Cambridge, 19 February, 1837.

PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND EDITION OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

I HAVE made some corrections in this edition, and have given about fifty pages of new matter. I have omitted about the same amount of what was in the volume as first published.

The portions omitted consist principally of statements and arguments, which, having been once made, it is not worth while to repeat, because they concern errors of the day, that have not their origin in any essential or permanent aspect of the subject to which they relate. They are such errors as may well be remarked upon during the time of their prevalence, but which gradually disappear as the subject is better understood, so that in a short time any notice of them becomes obsolete.

The greater part of the omissions is from the argument concerning the evidence of Justin Martyr. This argument, by freeing it from references to false opinions which have already ceased to attract attention, has been rendered more compact, and, though it may have gained nothing in its essential force, is, perhaps, presented in a more effective form.

Cambridge, 31 July, 1846.

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THE

GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPELS.

INTRODUCTION.

STATEMENT OF THE CASE.

THE object of the following work is to prove the genuineness of the Gospels. In asserting their genuineness, I mean to be understood as affirming, that they remain essentially the same as they were originally written; and that they have been ascribed to their true authors. The ground which has been taken by those who have denied their genuineness, as thus explained, may appear from the following statements.

The Gospels are quoted, as the undoubted works of the authors to whom they are ascribed, by an unbroken series of Christian writers, reaching back to the latter part of the second century; or in other words, to the time of Irenæus, who wrote in the last quarter of that century. But it is affirmed, that beyond his time the testimony to their genuineness fails. As we ascend to a remoter period, we come to the writings of Justin Martyr, who flourished about the middle of the second century; and to those ascribed to Apostolic Fathers, or supposed contemporaries of the Apostles. It has been affirmed that these writings, though they are

commonly quoted for the purpose, afford no evidence that our present Gospels were known to their authors. In regard to the writings attributed to Apostolic Fathers, the remark is not new. It was made, for instance, by Bolingbroke, who, in his "Letters on the Study of History," has the following passage:—

"Writers copy one another; and the mistake that was committed, or the falsehood that was invented, by one, is adopted by hundreds.

"Abbadie says, in his famous book, that the Gospel of St. Matthew is cited by Clemens, Bishop of Rome, a disciple of the Apostles; that Barnabas cites it in his epistle; that Ignatius and Polycarp receive it; and that the same fathers that give testimony for Matthew, give it likewise for Mark. Nay, your Lordship will find, I believe, that the present Bishop of London [Gibson], in his third pastoral letter, speaks to the same effect. I will not trouble you nor myself with any more instances of the same kind. Let this, which occurred to me as I was writing, suffice. It may well suffice; for I presume the fact advanced by the minister and the bishop is a mistake. If the fathers of the first century do mention some passages that are agreeable to what we read in our Evangelists, will it follow that these fathers had the same gospels before them? To say so is a manifest abuse of history, and quite inexcusable in writers that knew, or should have known, that these fathers made use of other gospels, wherein such passages might be contained; or they might be preserved in unwritten tradition. Besides which, I could almost venture to affirm, that these fathers of the first century do not expressly name the gospels we have of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John." *

The supposition of Bolingbroke in the last sentence is true; or rather, to state the fact precisely, the Gospels are not named in the writings *ascribed* to fathers of the first century. In agreement with what has been quoted, the

* Letter V. § 4.

learned German theologian, Eichhorn, in his "Introduction to the New Testament," endeavours to prove at length that the authors of those writings did not make use of our present Gospels, but of others different from them.*

Another German theologian, Less, who died about the close of the last century, wrote in defence of the genuineness of the books of the New Testament. In treating this subject, the results at which he arrives, from an examination of the writings just mentioned, are thus stated by Bishop Marsh:—

"From the epistle of Barnabas, no inference can be deduced that he had read any part of the New Testament. From the genuine epistle, as it is called, of Clement of Rome, it may be inferred that Clement had read the first epistle to the Corinthians. From the Shepherd of Hermas, no inference whatsoever can be drawn. From the epistles of Ignatius, it may be concluded that he had read St. Paul's epistle to the Ephesians, and that there existed in his time evangelical writings, though it cannot be shown that he has quoted from them. From Polycarp's epistle to the Philippians, it appears that he had heard of St. Paul's epistle to that community, and that he quotes a passage which is in the first epistle to the Corinthians, and another which is in the epistle to the Ephesians; but no positive conclusion can be drawn with respect to any other epistle, or any of the four Gospels."†

According to this statement, it would appear that no evidence can be derived from the works ascribed to Apostolic Fathers in proof of the genuineness of the Gospels.

The writings of Justin Martyr have, till of late, been appealed to confidently, as affording very early and very important evidence of this fact. Lardner states, that "he has numerous quotations of our Gospels except that of St.

* Einleitung in d. N. T., i. e. Introduction to the New Testament, vol. i. p. 113, seqq. I give the pages of the first edition, which are numbered likewise in the margin of the second.

† Marsh's Michaelis, vol. i. p. 354.

Mark, which he has seldom quoted;" that "it must be plain to all, that he owned and had the highest respect for the four Gospels;" and that he affords proof, that "these Gospels were publicly read in the assemblies of the Christians every Lord's day."* "It seems extremely material to be observed," says Paley, "that in all Justin's works, from which might be extracted almost a complete life of Christ, there are but two instances in which he refers to any thing as said or done by Christ which is not related concerning him in our present Gospels; which shows that these Gospels, and these, we may say, alone, were the authorities from which the Christians of that day drew the information upon which they depended."† It is, however, at present contended, that Justin Martyr did not quote from our four Gospels, and therefore cannot afford evidence of their genuineness. He does not mention them by name. His quotations, which agree in sense with passages found in the Gospels, he professes to take from what he calls "Memoirs by the Apostles;" and in these quotations, there is generally a want of verbal coincidence with the passages in the Gospels to which they otherwise correspond.

"Mr. Stroth," says Bishop Marsh, "has shown by very satisfactory arguments, that these Memoirs were not our four Gospels, but a single gospel, which had much matter in common with the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke; but which was not the same with any of them. Since Mr. Stroth's time the subject has been again investigated by several eminent critics; and the uniform result of their inquiries is, that Justin's *Ἀπομνημονεύματα* [the Memoirs in question] were not our four Gospels, but some single gospel."‡ "If," says Bishop Marsh, in another work, "the force of Mr. Stroth's arguments be admitted, (and they seem really convincing,) we cannot produce Justin as an

* Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel History, P. II. c. 10.

† Paley's Evidences of Christianity, P. I. c. ix. s. 1.

‡ Letters to the Anonymous Author of Remarks on Michaelis and his Commentator, p. 29.

evidence for the four Gospels; but, on the other hand, no inference can be deduced to their disadvantage." *

The concluding remark, that no inference can be deduced to the disadvantage of the Gospels, Bishop Marsh endeavours to illustrate; but its truth will not be admitted by those who deny the genuineness of the Gospels; and the proposition does not, in itself, appear tenable.

"Justin Martyr," says Eichhorn, "who was born A.D. 89, and died A.D. 163, a Samaritan, a native of Flavia Neapolis, early became converted from a heathen philosopher to a zealous Christian, and was one of the earliest Christian writers. He nowhere quotes the life and sayings of Jesus according to our present four Gospels, which he was not acquainted with. This is a very important circumstance in regard to the history of the Gospels; as he had devoted many years to travel, and resided a long time in Italy and Asia Minor." †

On the whole, it is concluded by Eichhorn and others, that our four Gospels, *in their present form*, were not in common use before the end of the second century. Previously to that time, it is supposed that other gospels were in circulation. "If we will not," says Eichhorn, "be influenced by idle tales and unsupported tradition, but by the only sure evidence of history, we must conclude, that, before our present Gospels, other decidedly different gospels were in circulation, and were used during the first two centuries in the instruction of Christians." ‡ He supposes these earlier gospels and our first three Gospels, namely, those of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, to have all had a common origin; and he gives the following account of the manner in which he conceives them to have been formed.

There was, he supposes, very early in existence a short historical sketch of the life of Christ, which may be called the Original Gospel. This was, probably, provided for the

* Marsh's Michaelis, vol. i. 361.
† Einleitung in d. N. T. i. 78.
‡ Einleitung in d. N. T. i. 140.

use of those assistants of the Apostles in the work of teaching Christianity, who had not themselves seen the actions and heard the discourses of Christ. It was, however, but "a rough sketch," "a brief and imperfect account," "without historical plan or methodical arrangement." In this respect it was, according to Eichhorn, very different from our four Gospels. "These present no rough sketch, such as we must suppose the first essay upon the life of Jesus to have been; but, on the contrary, are works written with art and labor, and contain portions of his life of which no mention was made in the first preaching of Christianity." * This Original Gospel was the basis both of the earlier gospels used during the first two centuries, and of the first three of our present Gospels, by which, together with the Gospel of John, those earlier gospels were finally superseded. The earlier gospels retained more or less of the rudeness and incompleteness of the Original Gospel.

"But they very soon fell into the hands of those who undertook to supply their defects and incompleteness, both in the general compass of the history, and in the narration of particular events. Not content with a life of Jesus, which, like the gospel of the Hebrews, and those of Marcion and Tatian, commenced with his public appearance, there were those who early prefixed to the Memoirs used by Justin Martyr, and to the gospel of Cerinthus, an account of his genealogy, his birth, and the period of his youth. In like manner, we find, upon comparing together, in parallel passages, the remaining fragments of these gospels, that they were receiving continual accessions. The voice from heaven at the baptism of Jesus was originally stated to have been, *Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee;* as it is quoted by Justin Martyr in two places. Clement of Alexandria found the same, in a gospel of which we have no particular description, with the addition of the word 'beloved;' *Thou art my beloved son; this day have I begotten thee.* Other

* Einleitung in d. N. T. pp. 5, 142.

gospels represented the voice as having been, *Thou art my beloved son, with whom I am well pleased;* as it is given in the catholic Gospels, namely, in Mark i. 11. In the gospel of the Ebionites, according to Epiphanius, both accounts of the voice from heaven were united: *Thou art my beloved son, with thee I am well pleased;* and again, *This day have I begotten thee.* By these continual accessions, the original text of the life of Jesus was lost in a mass of additions, so that its words appeared among them but as insulated fragments. Of this any one may satisfy himself from the account of the baptism of Jesus, which was compiled out of various gospels. The necessary consequence was, that at last truth and falsehood, authentic and fabulous narratives, or such, at least, as through long tradition had become disfigured and falsified, were brought together promiscuously. The longer these narratives passed from mouth to mouth, the more uncertain and disfigured they would become. At last, at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century, in order, as far as might be, to preserve the true accounts concerning the life of Jesus, and to deliver them to posterity as free from error as possible, the Church, out of the many gospels which were extant, selected four, which had the greatest marks of credibility, and the necessary completeness for common use. There are no traces of our present Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, before the end of the second and the beginning of the third century. Irenæus, about the year 202, first speaks decisively of four gospels, and imagines all sorts of reasons for this particular number; and Clement of Alexandria, about the year 216,* labored to collect divers accounts concerning the origin of these four gospels, in order to prove that these alone should be acknowledged as authentic. From these facts, it is evident that it was about the end of the second and the beginning of the third century

* The dates here assigned by Eichhorn, it may be observed, are, as has been supposed, the dates of the death of Irenæus and of Clement, not of the periods about which they wrote and flourished. These he elsewhere gives correctly.

that the Church first labored to establish the universal authority of these four gospels, which were in existence before, if not altogether in their present form, yet in most respects such as we now have them, and to procure their general reception in the Church, with the suppression of all other gospels then extant.

"Posterity would indeed have been under much greater obligations, if, together with the Gospel of John, the Church had established, by public authority, only the first rough sketch of the life of Jesus, which was given to the earliest missionaries to authenticate their preaching; after separating it from all its additions and augmentations. But this was no longer possible; for there was no copy extant free from all additions, and the critical operation of separating this accessory matter was too difficult for those times." *

"Many ancient writers of the Church," Eichhorn subjoins in a note, "doubted the genuineness of many parts of our Gospels; but were prevented from coming to a decision by want of critical skill." † It is to be observed, however, that the only *ancient writer of the Church*, whom he quotes in proof of this assertion, is Faustus, the well-known Manichæan of the fourth century.

In treating of the continual alterations and additions, to which he supposes *the text of the Original Gospel* to have been subjected, before it assumed that form in which it was used by the first three Evangelists, Eichhorn observes, that "such an arbitrary mode of dealing with the composition of another, so that it shall pass thus altered into circulation, is in our times a thing unheard of and impossible; because it is prevented by the multiplication of printed copies. But it was different," he proceeds, "before the invention of printing. In transcribing a manuscript, the most arbitrary alterations were considered as allowable, since they affected only an article of private property, written for the use of an individual. But these altered manuscripts being again transcribed,

* Einleitung in d. N. T. i. 142-145. † Ibid. p. 145.

without inquiry whether the manuscript transcribed contained the pure text of the author, altered copies of works thus passed unobserved into circulation. How often do the manuscripts of any one of the chronicles of the Middle Ages, of which several manuscripts are extant, agree with each other in exhibiting the same text, equally copious, or equally brief. What numerous complaints do we read in the fathers of the first centuries concerning the arbitrary alterations made in their writings, published but a short time before, by the possessors or transcribers of manuscripts. Scarcely had copies of the letters of Dionysius of Corinth begun to circulate, before, as he expresses himself, 'the apostles of Satan filled them with tares; omitting some things and adding others;' and the same fate, according to his testimony, the Holy Scriptures themselves could not escape. If transcribers had not permitted themselves to make the most arbitrary alterations in the writings of others, would it have been as customary as we find it was for authors of those times to adjure their readers, at the end of their writings, to make no alterations in them, and to denounce the most fearful curses against those who should undertake to do so?

"The histories of Jesus must also have been subjected to the same mode of treatment. Does not Celsus object to the Christians, that they had changed the gospels three times, four times, and oftener? From what other cause can it proceed, that we still find fragments of the apocryphal gospels, in which all the accounts respecting some particular passage of the life of Jesus, which are elsewhere found scattered in different gospels, are brought together and combined into one whole? Thus the apocryphal gospel of the Ebionites, quoted by Epiphanius, has brought together all relating to the baptism of Jesus which is found concerning it in our first three Gospels, and in the Memoirs by the Apostles, used by Justin Martyr." *

"As soon," he remarks in another place, "as the history

* Einleitung in d. N. T. i. 173, seqq.

of our catholic Gospels commences, we find men without any critical knowledge busy in altering their text, in shortening and lengthening it, and in making changes of synonymous words. And is this to be wondered at? Ever since the existence of written histories of Jesus, it had been customary for the possessors of manuscripts to make alterations in their text, according to the particular knowledge which they had of his preaching and actions, and of the events of his life. Thus the second and third generations of Christians only continued this practice respecting the gospels which the first had begun. The custom was, in the second century, so generally known, that even those who were not believers were acquainted with it. Celsus objects to the Christians, that they had changed their gospels three times, four times, and oftener, as if they were deprived of their senses. Clement also, at the end of the second century, speaks of those who corrupted the gospels, and ascribes it to them, that at Matthew v. 10, instead of the words, *for theirs is the kingdom of heaven,* there was found in some manuscripts, *for they shall be perfect;* and in others, *for they shall have a place where they shall not be persecuted.*" *

The preceding statements give a view of the difficulties which have been supposed to attend the proof of the genuineness of the Gospels; and likewise of the opinions which have been entertained respecting their gross corruption, supposing them, in a certain sense, to have proceeded from the authors to whom they have been ascribed. The passages quoted from Eichhorn are not to be regarded as expressing the views of only a single writer. No work of a similar kind has been received in Germany with more approbation than his "Introduction to the New Testament;" and his notions respecting the Gospels, or others of the same general character, essentially affecting the belief of their genuineness, have been held by many modern German writers.

* Einleitung in d. N. T. i. pp. 652, 653.

But if the preceding statements and opinions be correct, an objector may say,—"You have little or rather no evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels, which reaches back beyond the close of the second century; though they were composed, as you imagine, about one hundred and fifty years before. You have, in fact, no proof of their existence, *in their present form*, previous to that period. All that can be rendered probable is, that some works were in existence, which served as a basis for the Gospels you now possess. But if, during the first two centuries, it was so common to enlarge the histories of Jesus Christ, then in use, with traditionary tales, and with additions of various kinds, great and small; and to alter and remodel them, as the transcribers or possessors of manuscripts might think proper; you can hardly pretend to rely with much confidence upon those histories which now exist. We know in what manner the legends of saints have been gradually swelled with the addition of miraculous stories, unknown to those by whom they were first composed; and something very similar may have been the case with your Gospels."

In answer, then, to all that has been alleged, the object of the following work is to establish these two propositions:—

I. That the Gospels remain essentially the same as they were originally composed.

II. That they have been ascribed to their true authors.

PART I.

PROOF THAT THE GOSPELS REMAIN ESSENTIALLY THE SAME AS THEY WERE ORIGINALLY COMPOSED.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

ARGUMENT FROM THE AGREEMENT OF THE RESPECTIVE COPIES OF THE FOUR GOSPELS.

THE first proposition to be established, that the Gospels remain essentially the same as they were originally composed, requires some explanation and remark.

In regard to St. Matthew's Gospel, the proposition is to be understood in a particular sense. This Gospel, it is probable, was originally composed in Hebrew; and we possess only a Greek translation, made at a very early period.* This translation, it will be my purpose to show, has been faithfully preserved. To this alone, the general remarks and arguments respecting the correct transmission of the Gospels, advanced in the present chapter, must be considered as *directly* applying. But no reason has ever been adduced for suspecting that the translation was not intended to be a faithful representative of the original.

The Gospels, I have said, remain *essentially* the same as they were originally written. In common with all other ancient writings, they have been exposed to the accidents to which works preserved by transcription are liable. In the very numerous authorities for determining their text, we find a great number of differences, or various readings. But, by comparing those authorities together, we are able, in general,

* On this subject see Additional Note, A.

to ascertain satisfactorily the original text of the last three Gospels, and of the Greek translation of St. Matthew. There are, however, a few passages admitted into the Received Text (the text in common use before the publication of Griesbach's edition), some extant in a majority of our present manuscripts, and some even in all, the genuineness of which is still questionable. Various considerations, arising from some of these passages not being found in manuscripts of the highest authority, from direct historical evidence concerning them in the writings of the fathers, from their unsuitableness to the context, from the nature of their contents, and from the want of correspondence between their style and that of the Evangelist in whose work they now stand, may lead us to disbelieve or doubt that they proceeded from him. In mentioning such as are extant in all our present manuscripts, I refer particularly to certain passages in the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew. This translation was made, probably, either from one or from a very few manuscripts of the Hebrew Gospel; and however faithfully the translator intended to represent his original, he may have erred in mistaking additions or interpolations, found in the copy or copies which he followed, for portions of the genuine text.

I will here mention the more important passages in the Received Text of the Gospels, which, from such causes as I have spoken of, may, I think, be regarded as spurious, or as lying under suspicion. I shall reserve a more particular examination of them for another place, where I shall treat at length of the various readings of the text of the Gospels.*

There are strong reasons for thinking, that the first two chapters of our present copies of the Greek Gospel of Matthew made no part of the original Hebrew. We may suppose them to have been an ancient document, which, from the connection of the subject with his history, was transcribed into the same volume with it, and which, though first written as a distinct work, with some mark of separation, yet in process of time

* See Additional Note, A.

became blended with it, so as apparently to form its commencement. Being thus found incorporated with the Gospel in the manuscript, or in manuscripts, used by the translator, it was rendered by him as part of the original.

There are two other passages in our Greek Gospel of Matthew, which I have remarked upon in the Additional Note just referred to, in the margin, and which, as it seems to me, there is much reason for regarding as interpolated. These passages are the narrative concerning Judas in the twenty-seventh chapter, beginning with the third and ending with the tenth verse, and the account of the raising of the bodies of many saints at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion, in the latter part of the fifty-second verse and the fifty-third of the same chapter.

In respect to Mark's Gospel, there is ground for believing that the last twelve verses were not written by the Evangelist, but were added by some other writer to supply a short conclusion to the work, which some cause had prevented the author from completing.

In Luke's Gospel, the only passage of any considerable length or importance, the genuineness of which appears to me liable to suspicion, consists of the forty-third and forty-fourth verses of the twenty-second chapter, containing an account of the descent of an angel to Jesus, and of his agony and bloody sweat.

In John's Gospel, what now stands as the conclusion, the latter part of the twenty-fourth verse and the twenty-fifth, of the last chapter, has the air of an editorial note. As such, it was, I think, probably distinguished when first written, though this distinction was afterwards neglected by transcribers.

In the Received Text of this Gospel there are likewise two other passages to be considered. The genuineness of the last clause of the third and the whole of the fourth verse of the fifth chapter, which contain an account of the descent of an angel into the pool of Bethesda, is very questionable: and the story of the woman taken in adultery is, in my opinion,

justly regarded by a majority of modern critics as not having been a part of the original Gospel.*

The two passages last mentioned, and the other *interpolations* that have been suggested, that is, the two insertions into the body of the text of the original Hebrew of Matthew's Gospel, and one into that of Luke's Gospel, were, we may suppose, first written as notes or additional matter in the margin of some copies of the Gospel in which they are found. But passages belonging to the text of a work, which had been accidentally omitted by a transcriber, were, likewise, often preserved in the margin. From this circumstance, notes and additional matter, thus written, were not unfrequently mistaken for parts of the text, and introduced by a subsequent copier into what he thought their proper place. This is a fruitful source of various readings in ancient writings; and may explain how the passages in question, if not genuine, have become incorporated with the text of the Gospels.

The facts that have been mentioned, respecting doubtful or spurious passages in the text of the Gospels, imply nothing opposite to the general proposition maintained. On the contrary, in reasoning concerning those passages, we go upon

* Besides those that have been mentioned above, there are two other passages in the Gospels which it may be well to notice in connection with this subject.

One consists of the words ascribed to our Lord in Matthew xii. 40 :—"For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the fish, so will the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." There are strong, and it may seem sufficient, reasons for believing these words not to have been uttered by our Lord. But, on the supposition that they were not, it does not necessarily follow that they are an interpolation in the text of Matthew's Gospel.

The other passage consists of the words in which our Lord is said to have reproved James and John for the suggestion of calling down fire from heaven upon a village of the Samaritans, Luke ix. *55, 56.* There is nothing in the words themselves to excite a doubt of their having been spoken by Jesus. The only reason for questioning whether they originally made a part of Luke's Gospel is, that they are wanting in a large number of the most important copies of it. The passage presents one of the most difficult and curious problems in the criticism of the text of the New Testament.

Both these passages are examined in the Additional Note, A, before referred to.

the supposition of its truth. It is assumed, that the Gospels, generally speaking, have been faithfully preserved; but it is contended, that there are particular reasons for doubting whether one or another of the passages in question, though found in many or in all the extant manuscripts of a Gospel, proceeded from the pen of the Evangelist. These reasons are specific, applying in every case to the particular passage under consideration, and not admitting of a general application. They suppose no new theory respecting the corruption of the Gospels, and no habit in transcribers of making unlicensed alterations. They imply nothing more than the operation of particular accidents, producing error in particular cases; the possibility of which none will deny. All that we can say respecting any ancient work is, that it remains *essentially* the same as it was originally composed. For specific reasons, applying to some particular passage, we may doubt whether it proceeded from the pen of the Evangelist. But unless the Gospels were exposed, as has been imagined, to some *peculiar* causes of corruption, there can be no question that, generally speaking, we have satisfactory means of determining the original text of the last three Gospels, and that of the Greek translation of Matthew; the number of authorities for settling it, manuscripts, ancient versions, and quotations by ancient writers, being far more numerous and important than those for settling the text of any other ancient writing.

We proceed, then, to the proof that the Gospels have not been exposed to any peculiar causes of corruption; but remain essentially the same as they were originally composed.

This appears, in the first place, from the agreement among our present manuscript copies of the Gospels, or of parts of the Gospels, in whatever form these copies appear. There have been examined, in a greater or less degree, about six hundred and seventy manuscripts * of the whole, or of por-

* See Scholz's Catalogue, in the Prolegomena to his N. T.

tions, of the Greek text of the Gospels. These were written in different countries, and at different periods, probably from the fifth century, downwards. They have been found in places widely remote from each other, in Asia, in Africa, and from one extremity of Europe to the other. Besides these manuscripts of the Greek text, there are many manuscripts of ancient versions of the Gospels, in different languages of each of the three great divisions of the world just mentioned. There are, likewise, many manuscripts of the works of the Christian fathers, abounding in quotations from the Gospels; and, especially, manuscripts of ancient commentaries on the Gospels, such as those of Origen, who lived in the third century, and of Chrysostom, who lived in the fourth; in which we find their text quoted, as the different portions of it are successively the subjects of remark.

Now, all these different copies of the Gospels, or parts of the Gospels, so numerous, so various in their character, so unconnected, offering themselves to notice in parts of the world so remote from each other, concur in giving us essentially the same text. Divide them into four classes, corresponding to the four Gospels, and it is evident that those of each class are to be referred to one common source; that they are all copies, more or less remote, of the same original; that they all had one common text for their archetype. They vary, indeed, more or less from each other; but their variations have arisen from the common accidents of transcription; or, as regards the versions, partly from errors of translation; or, in respect to the quotations by the fathers, partly from the circumstance, that, in ancient as in modern times, the language of Scripture was often cited loosely, from memory, and without regard to verbal accuracy, in cases where no particular verbal accuracy was required. The agreement among the extant copies of any one of the Gospels, or of portions of it, is essential; the disagreements are accidental and trifling, originating in causes which, from the nature of things, we know must have been in operation. The same work every-

where appears; and, by comparing together different copies, we are able to ascertain the original text to a great degree of exactness; or, in other words, where various readings occur, to determine what were probably the words of the author.

The Greek manuscripts, then, of any one of the Gospels, the versions of it, and the quotations from it by the fathers, are all, professedly, copies of that Gospel, or of parts of it; and these copies correspond with each other. But, as these professed copies thus correspond with each other, it follows that they were derived more or less remotely from one archetype. Their agreement admits of no explanation, except that of their being conformed to a common exemplar. In respect to each of the Gospels, the copies which we possess must all be referred, for their source, to one original Gospel, one original text, one original manuscript. As far back as our knowledge extends, Christians, throughout all past ages, in Syria, at Alexandria, at Rome, at Carthage, at Constantinople, and at Moscow, in the east and in the west, have all used copies of each of the Gospels which were evidently derived from one original manuscript, and necessarily imply that such a manuscript, existing as their archetype, has been faithfully copied.

Let us now consider what must have been the consequence, if the supposition before stated, respecting the license taken by different transcribers, were true of any one of the Gospels. In this case, one transcriber, in one part of the world, would have made certain alterations in his copy, and inserted certain narratives which he had collected; and another, in another place, would have made different alterations, and inserted different narratives. Such copies, upon the supposition that this imagined license continued, would, when again transcribed, have been again changed and enlarged. Copies would have been continually multiplying, diverging more and more from the original and from each other. The original text would have been confounded and lost among additions and changes, till, at last, it might have appeared, to quote the

language of Eichhorn, only in "insulated fragments."* No generally received text would have existed; none, therefore, could have been preserved and handed down. Instead of that agreement among the copies of each Gospel which now exists, we should have found everywhere manuscripts, presenting us with different collections of narratives and sayings; and differing, at the same time, in their arrangement of the same facts, and in their general style of expression. There would have been as great a want of correspondence among the manuscripts which professed to contain any particular Gospel, as there is known to exist among those of the Arabian Nights, or among the copies of the Gesta Romanorum. They would have been more unlike than those manuscripts of chronicles of the Middle Ages to which Eichhorn refers,† as the Gospels have been much more frequently transcribed. The copies of these writings would have presented the same phenomena as those of some of the apocryphal books, that, for example, called the Gospel of the Infancy, which appears in several different forms, this collection of fables having been remodelled by one after another according to his fancy. At the same time, we should have found the want of agreement, which must have existed among different manuscripts of any one of the Gospels, extending itself equally to the translations of that Gospel, and to the professed quotations from it in ancient writers.

The argument which has been employed seems easy to be comprehended; and at the same time conclusive of the fact, that all our present copies of each of the Gospels are to be traced back to one original manuscript, in multiplying the copies of which, no such liberties can have been taken by transcribers, as are supposed in the hypothesis under consideration. The argument seems, likewise, very obvious; yet its force and bearing appear to have been overlooked in framing that hypothesis. The fact does not seem to have been distinctly adverted to, that the transcriber or possessor

* See before, p. 6-7. † See before, p. 9.

of a manuscript, making such alterations as the hypothesis supposes, could introduce them only into a single copy, and into such others as might be transcribed from it; and that he could not, properly speaking, add to or corrupt the work itself. His copy would have no influence upon contemporary copies; and in the case of the Gospels, we may say, upon numerous contemporary copies in which the true text might be preserved, or into which different alterations might be introduced. It is quite otherwise since the invention of printing. He who now introduces a corruption into the printed edition of a work, introduces it into all the copies of that edition; if it be the only edition, into all the copies of that work; and, in many cases, into a great majority of the copies which are extant, or which are most accessible. All these copies will agree in presenting us with the same changes or interpolations. He may properly be said to corrupt the work itself. Thus, before the invention of printing, the famous verse in the first Epistle of John, v. 7, was to be found, as far as is known, in the text of not more than two Greek manuscripts of all those in existence.* But it was early admitted into a printed edition of the New Testament; and it is now to be found in a great majority of the printed copies, and, consequently, of all the copies, of the New Testament. It is

* I refer to the Codex Montfortianus, and to another lately discovered in the Vatican Library by Scholz (see his Biblischkritische Reise, i. e. Travels for the purpose of Biblical Criticism, p. 105). But it is not certain that either of these manuscripts was written before the invention of printing.

There is another manuscript, in the Royal Library at Naples, which has been examined by Scholz, and which in his New Testament, in his note on John v. 7, he quotes as containing that verse *in its text.* But in the same note he has before enumerated it among those in the text of which the verse is not found. It is manifest that there is here an error; and what the error is may appear from the fact, that in his catalogue of manuscripts, prefixed to the second volume of his New Testament, he refers the writing of the Neapolitan MS. to the eleventh century; while in his note, joining this manuscript with the two before mentioned, he says that the verse is found in all three (*in his tribus*), as transferred from the Latin version, in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. It follows, that it was not in the original text of the Neapolitan MS., but has been added in the margin, or, perhaps, inserted in the text, by a recent hand.

not now to be considered as a corruption of a particular manuscript, but as a corruption of the Epistle itself. If printing had not been invented, and the Epistle had been preserved, as before, only by transcription, the fact would probably have been very different. The passage, instead of being in a great majority of copies, might have been found only in a very small minority. The power of an ancient copier to alter the text of a work was very different from that of a modern editor; yet it would seem that they must have been confounded in the hypothesis under consideration, unless some further account is to be given of the manner in which the text of our present Gospels has been formed and perpetuated.

It is evident from the preceding statements, that the existing copies of each of the Gospels have been derived from some common exemplar, faithfully followed by transcribers. But it may be said, that this exemplar was not the original work, as it proceeded from the hand of the Evangelist; that the lineage of our present copies is not to be traced so high; but that, at some period, the course of corruption which has been described was arrested; and a standard text was selected and determined upon, which has served as an archetype for all existing copies; but that this text, thus fixed as the standard, had already suffered greatly from the corruptions of transcribers, and was very different from the original. This supposition is implied in the following passage from Eichhorn, which has been before quoted.* "At last, at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century, in order, as far as might be, to preserve the true accounts concerning the life of Jesus, and to deliver them to posterity as free from error as possible, the Church, out of the many gospels which were extant, selected four, which had the greatest marks of credibility, and the necessary completeness for common use. There are no traces of our present Gospels of Mat-

* See before, pp. 7-8.

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thew, Mark, and Luke, before the end of the second, and the beginning of the third, century. Irenæus, about the year 202, first speaks decisively of four gospels, and imagines all sorts of reasons for this particular number; and Clement of Alexandria, about the year 216, labored to collect divers accounts concerning the origin of these four gospels, in order to prove that these alone should be acknowledged as authentic. From these facts it is evident, that it was about the end of the second and the beginning of the third century that the Church first labored to establish the universal authority of these four gospels, which were in existence before, if not altogether in their present form, yet in most respects such as we now have them, and to procure their general reception in the Church, with the suppression of all other gospels then extant."

The Church, according to Eichhorn, selected four gospels out of a multitude, and labored to procure their general reception in *the Church*. In order to understand this proposition, it is necessary to determine what must be the meaning of the word "Church." There was no organized universal Church, nor any thing resembling such an establishment, in existence, till long after the close of the second century. There was no single ecclesiastical government, which extended over Christians, or over a majority of Christians, or over any considerable portion of their number. They had no regular modes of acting in concert; nor any effectual means whatever of combining together for a common purpose. Neither the whole body, nor a majority of Christians, ever met by delegation to devise common measures. Such an event did not take place till a hundred and twenty years after the end of the second century; when Christianity had become the established religion of the Roman empire, and the first general council, that of Nice, was called together by the Emperor Constantine. At the time of which we are speaking, Christians were spread over the world from the Euphrates to the Pillars of Hercules. They were disturbed and unsettled by frequent cruel persecutions, one of which,

that under Severus, was at its height just about the commencement of the third century. They were separated from each other by a difficulty and consequent infrequency of communication, of which, such are the facilities that now exist, we can hardly form a just notion. They were kept asunder by difference of language; some speaking the Greek, some the Latin, and others different languages and dialects of the East. Exclusively of those generally considered as heretics, they were disunited and alienated from each other by differences of religious opinion, and even by violent controversies; for it was before the end of the second century, that Victor, Bishop of Rome, had excommunicated the Eastern churches. This being the state of Christians at the end of the second century, the proposition on which I am remarking supposes that they corresponded together, and came to an agreement to select four out of the many manuscript gospels then in existence, all of which had been exposed to the license of transcribers. Of these four, no traces are to be discovered before that time; but it was determined to adopt them for common use, to the prejudice, it would seem, of others longer known, and to which different portions of Christians had respectively been accustomed. There was a universal and silent compliance with this proposal. Copies of the four new manuscripts, and translations of them, were at once circulated through the world. All others ceased to be transcribed, and suddenly disappeared from common notice. Copiers were at the same time checked in their former practice of licentious alteration. Thus a revolution was effected in regard to the most important sacred books of Christians, and at the same time better habits were introduced among the transcribers of those books.

I believe it will be seen that I have stated nothing but what the supposition we are considering necessarily implies. But when we divest it of its looseness and ambiguity of language, and state clearly the details which it must embrace, no one can suppose that any such series of events took place

at the end of the second century. It is intrinsically incredible; but if this were not the case, we might urge against it the fact, that there is no record, nor any trace of it. It is supposed that a change was effected in the sacred books of Christians, spread abroad, as they were, throughout the civilised world. Any change of this sort could not be effected without great difficulty, under the most favorable circumstances. Let us consider for a moment what an effort would be required, and what resistance must be overcome, in order to bring into general use among a single nation of Christians at the present day, not other gospels, but simply a new and better translation of our present Gospels. In the case under consideration, allowing the supposed change to have been possible, it must have met with great opposition; it must have provoked much discussion; it must have been the result of much deliberation; there must have been a great deal written about it at the time; it must have been often referred to afterwards, especially in the religious controversies which took place; it would have been one of the most important events in the history of Christians; and the account of the transaction must have been preserved. There would have been distinct memorials of it everywhere, in contemporary and subsequent writings. That there are no traces of it whatever, is alone conclusive evidence that it never took place.

But we may even put out of view all the preceding considerations. "The Church," it is said, "about the end of the second, and the beginning of the third, century, first labored to procure the general reception of the four Gospels in the Church." By the Church must be meant the great body of Christians. The general reception of the Gospels was founded upon the belief, real or pretended, of their being the genuine works of those to whom they were ascribed. The statement, therefore, resolves itself into the following dilemma. Either the great body of Christians determined to believe what they knew to be false; or they determined to profess to believe it.

The first proposition is an absurdity in terms; the last is a moral absurdity.

There is, then, no ground for the supposition of any interposition of authority, or of any concert among Christians, at the end of the second century, to select our present Gospels for common use; or, in other words, to select from the great number then in existence four particular manuscripts, which should serve as archetypes for all subsequent transcribers, and the text of which should alone be considered as the authorized text. Our present agreement of authorities, which necessarily refers us back to one manuscript of each of the Gospels as the archetype of all the copies of that Gospel, cannot thus be explained. We are left, therefore, to the obvious conclusion, which we adopt in regard to other writings, that this manuscript was the original work of an individual author, which has been faithfully transmitted to us.

The argument from the agreement of our present manuscript copies of the Gospels seems alone to be decisive of the truth of the proposition which it is brought to establish. But a similar mode of reasoning may be applied to the agreement between the very numerous manuscripts of the Gospels which were in existence at the end of the second century; and as it was before this period that transcribers are fancied to have taken the greatest liberties, it may be worth while to enter into the detail of this argument; especially as it is connected with the proof of the antiquity of the Gospels.

Our present Gospels, it is conceded, were in common use among Christians about the end of the second century. The number of manuscripts then in existence bore some proportion to the number of Christians, and this, to the whole population of the Roman empire. The population of the Roman empire in the time of the Antonines is estimated by Gibbon at about one hundred and twenty millions.* With regard to the proportion of Christians, the same writer

* Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ch. ii.

observes,—"The most favorable calculation will not permit us to imagine that more than a twentieth part of the subjects of the empire had enlisted themselves under the banner of the cross before the important conversion of Constantine." * If not more than a twentieth part of the empire was Christian at the end of the third century, just after which the conversion of Constantine took place, we can hardly estimate more than a fortieth part of it as Christian at the end of the second century. Yet this proportion seems irreconcilable with the language which we find used concerning the number of Christians. Just after the close of the first century, Pliny was sent by Trajan to govern the provinces of Pontus and Bithynia. While exercising his office, many accusations were brought to him against Christians; and he wrote to the emperor to consult him on the subject. "I have recourse," he says, "to you for advice; for it has appeared to me a subject proper to consult you about; especially on account of the number of those against whom accusations are brought. For many of all ages, of every rank, and of both sexes likewise, have been and will be accused. The contagion of this superstition has made its way not in cities only, but in the lesser towns also, and in the open country. It seems to me that it may be stopped and corrected. It is certain that the temples, which were almost deserted, begin to be frequented; and the sacred solemnities are revived after a long intermission. Victims likewise are everywhere sold, of which, till lately, there were but very few purchasers." † There is no reason to suppose that Christians were more numerous in Pontus and Bithynia than in any other part of Asia Minor, or in Macedonia, or in Greece. Yet if we suppose them to have constituted but a fortieth, or even a twentieth, part of the inhabitants, there would be an extravagance in the statements of Pliny, not to be expected in an official letter, written for the purpose of affording facts to the emperor, on

* Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ch. xv.

† Plinii Epist. lib. x. epist. 97.

which to found specific directions. I pass over much other evidence with respect to the number of Christians;* and will quote only one or two passages from Tertullian, who wrote at the particular period which we are considering, about the year 200. In speaking of the submission of Christians to the civil authority by which they were persecuted, he remarks, that it may clearly appear to be the result of the patience taught them by their religion; "considering," he says, "that we, so great a multitude of men, almost the majority of every city, pass our lives silently, and modestly, more known, perhaps, as individuals than as a body, and to be recognized only by our reformation from ancient vices."† Again, in addressing those who governed the Roman empire, he says:—"We are but of yesterday, and we have filled every thing that is yours, cities, islands, castles, free towns, council-halls, the very camps, all classes of men, the palace, the senate, the forum. We have left you nothing but your temples. We can number your armies; there are more Christians in a single province. Even if unequal in force, is there any war for which we, who so readily submit to death, should not be prepared, or not prompt, if our religion did not teach us rather to be slain, than to slay? Unarmed and without rebellion, had we only separated from you, we might thus have fought against you, by inflicting the injury which you would have suffered from the divorce. If we, such a multitude of men, had broken away from you, retiring into some remote corner of the world, your government would have been covered with shame at the loss of so many citizens, whoever they might be. The very desertion would have punished you. Without doubt you would have been terrified at your solitude; at the silence and stupor of all things, as if the world were dead. You would have had to look about for subjects."‡ This, it may be said, is the language of exaggeration; unquestion-

* See Paley's Evidences of Christianity, Part II. c. ix.

† Ad Scapulum, § 2. p. 69. Ed. Priorii.

‡ Apologeticus adversus Gentes, § 37. See Semler's Ed. tom. v. p. 90.

ably it is so. But Tertullian was a writer of far too much acuteness, and too much real eloquence, to suffer the boldness and vehemence of his language to pass those limits, beyond which their only effect must have been to expose him to derision. The very passage which I have quoted shows that he was a man of no ordinary mind. But, as far as its exaggeration is concerned, the most unwise and most impudent of declaimers would not have so stated the number of Christians, if it did not amount to more than a fortieth part of the whole population of the empire,—exclusively of those denominated heretics, who were few in comparison with catholic Christians. I accept, however, this proportion; and only wish it to be well understood, that it is fairly within the truth; probably falling very far short of it. The conclusion to be established admits of great wastefulness in the calculations leading to it. The fortieth part of one hundred and twenty millions, the estimated population of the empire, is three millions. There were Christians without the bounds of the empire, but I am willing to include those also in the number supposed. At the end of the second century, then, there were three millions of believers, using our present Gospels, regarding them with the highest reverence, and anxious to obtain copies of them. Few possessions could have been more valued by a Christian than a copy of those books, which contained the history of the religion for which he was exposing himself to the severest sacrifices. Their cost, if he were able to defray it, must have been but a very trifling consideration. But a common copy of the Gospels was not a book of any great bulk or expense.* I shall not, therefore,

* That the cost of books in ancient times was not excessive may appear, in part, from the circumstance, that Juvenal describes them as among the possessions of Codrus, whom he represents as extremely poor. They were a part of his *totum nihil.*

"Jamque vetus Græcos servabat cista libellos."

Sat. III. 206.

But it is remarkable how little exact information is to be found respecting the cost of books in ancient times. "The prices," says Arbuthnot, "which I find mentioned by the ancients, are for such as were manuscripts in our sense, that is,

I think, be charged with over-estimating, if I suppose that there was one copy of the Gospels for every fifty Christians. Scattered over the world as they were, if the proportion of them to the heathens was no greater than has been assumed, fifty Christians would often be as many as were to be found in any one place, and often more; but we cannot suppose that there were many collections of Christians without a copy of the Gospels. Origen, upon quoting a passage from the New Testament, says that it is written, not "in any rare books, read only by a few studious persons, but in those in the most common use." * In truth, there can be little doubt that copies of the Gospels were owned by a large portion of Christians who had the means of procuring them; and in supposing only one copy of these books for every fifty Christians, the estimate is probably much within the truth. This proportion, however, will give us sixty thousand copies of the Gospels for three millions of Christians.

This number of copies may strike some, who have never

not published, and valuable for the rarity of them." Martial, however (lib. i. epig. 118), states the cost of the first book of his Epigrams, or perhaps of the first and second (lib. ii. epig. 93), in an ornamented copy, *rasum pumice, purpurâque cultum*, at five denarii; which, taking silver as the standard of comparison, is equal to about seventy-two cents, American money. This was a book for the luxurious. A copy of any one of the Gospels might probably have been bought at a much cheaper rate in proportion to its size. The price of Martial's thirteenth book, which contains far less matter than the first, but amounts to two hundred and seventy-two verses, he states to have been four sestertii; or if that were thought too much, two sestertii, which he says would still leave a profit to the bookseller. (Lib. xiii. epig. 3.) Two sestertii were half a denarius, that is, about seven cents. We sometimes confound the state of things in the Middle Ages, when there was a great scarcity of books, with that which existed in the flourishing times of Greek and Roman literature. It would be a still greater mistake to suppose that the number of Greek manuscripts of the Gospels extant during that period in Western Europe, where the Greek was almost an unknown tongue, affords any means of determining the number in existence when the Greek was a living language, and a medium of communication throughout the civilized world.

* Ἐν τοῖς δημωδεστέροις. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. vii. § 37. Opp. i. 720. Ed. Delarue.

before made any estimate of the kind, as larger than was to be expected. But the following facts may serve to show that the calculation is not extravagant. In the latter part of the second century, a history of Christ was compiled by Tatian, professedly, as is commonly believed, from the four Gospels. Tatian was a heretic, and his work never obtained much reputation or currency. Eusebius, the historian of the Church, in the first half of the fourth century, is the earliest writer who mentions it. His acquaintance with books was extensive, yet he appears not to have examined it. At the present day, no copy of it is known to be in existence. Yet of this obscure work, Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus in the fifth century, says that he found two hundred copies in use among Christian churches, which he removed, and supplied their place by copies of the Gospels.* It appears, then, that in churches to which the examination of a single bishop extended, there were two hundred copies of a book of suspicious credit and not in common use; and that the place of these was readily supplied by copies of the Gospels. This fact is one of those which may serve to show, that the estimate of the whole number of copies of the Gospels existing at the end of the second century is far from being too great.

Again, in the Acts of the Apostles,† it is related, that of those who had become converts to Christianity in Ephesus and its neighbourhood, some had been addicted to the study of magic. After their conversion, they brought together their books relating to this subject, to be burnt; and the value of them is said to have been fifty thousand pieces of silver. If, as is probable, by "pieces of silver" is to be understood *cistophori*, a common Asiatic coin and money of account, the sum mentioned amounts to about eight hundred and eighty-five pounds sterling. Books of magic, whatever may be here intended by that name, would be sold at a high price. But we cannot reasonably suppose those works on magic to have

* Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. Lib. i. c. 20. Opp. iv. 208. Ed. Sirmond.

† Ch. xix. v. 19.

been the larger portion of the books owned by the converts of Ephesus and its vicinity at this early period. Such being the case, we may infer that the number of copies of the Gospels in use among Christians at the end of the second century did not fall short of that which has been estimated, but probably far exceeded it.

There were, then, at the end of the second century, when it is agreed that the Gospels were in common use, at least sixty thousand copies of them dispersed over the world. These copies had not been subjected to the licentious alterations of transcribers. They agreed essentially with each other. This is implied in the fact, that they *were* copies of our present Gospels. It is made evident by the consideration, that, if there had been important discrepancies among these sixty thousand copies, no series of events could either have destroyed the evidence of these discrepancies, or could have produced the present agreement among existing copies, derived, as they are, from those in use at the period in question. The agreement, then, at the end of the second century, among the numerous copies of the respective Gospels, proves that an archetype of each Gospel had been faithfully followed by transcribers. This archetype, as we have seen, there is no ground for imagining to have been any other than the original work of the author of that Gospel. It follows, therefore, that, in the interval between the composition of these works and the end of the second century, their text did not suffer, as has been fancied, from the licentiousness of transcribers.

But it must have taken a long time,—I use an indefinite expression to which there can be no objection, leaving it to every one to fix such a period as he may think most probable,—it must have taken a long time for the Gospels to obtain so established and extensive a reputation; to come into common use as sacred books among Christians throughout the civilized world; and for such a number of copies of them

to be made. They must have been composed, therefore, a long time before the end of the second century; or rather, before the year 180, about which period Irenæus wrote, who asserts their general reception and acknowledged authority, in as strong language as any Christian would use at the present day. It follows, then, from all that has been said, that, long before the latter part of the second century, our present Gospels were composed by four different authors, whose works obtained general reception among Christians as authentic histories and sacred books, and were everywhere spread and handed down, without any essential alterations from transcribers.

CHAPTER II.

ARGUMENTS DRAWN FROM OTHER CONSIDERATIONS.

BESIDE the argument already adduced, there are others, to which we will now advert.

I. It would have been inconsistent with the common sentiments and practice of mankind, for transcribers to make such alterations and additions as have been imagined, in the sacred books which they were copying. No one can be so dull as not to feel the propriety and importance of preserving the genuine text of books, which are regarded as works of authority, or as possessing a peculiar character in consequence of their having been composed by a particular author. In proportion as a work is of higher authority, this sentiment will be stronger. It would be idle to imagine, that the habit of making additions and alterations at will, which is attributed to the transcribers of the Gospels, was common in ancient times, and practised in the transcription of other writings, the histories, for instance, of Thucydides or Tacitus. But with the great body of believers, the Gospels were peculiarly guarded from corruption; and what we apprehend so little concerning other writings is still less to be apprehended concerning them. The Christians * of the first two centuries, it cannot be doubted, valued very highly their sacred books, and

* By "the Christians" I mean, here and elsewhere, the great body of believers, the generality of Christians, the *catholic* Christians. Conformably to its common use in speaking of the first ages of Christianity, I use the name as a general, not a universal term. I do not mean to include under it the heretical sects of the Ebionites and the Gnostics, to whom all the assertions made respecting "the Christians" do not apply. The evidence which those sects afford of the genuineness of the Gospels will be considered hereafter.

none more highly than those which contained records of the actions and discourses of Christ. But they valued them as sacred books, and as authentic histories, and not as the patchwork of unknown transcribers. They would not, therefore, suffer them gradually to assume the latter character. They would not cause, or permit, alterations and additions to be silently introduced into books of history, the authenticity of which would be thus destroyed; and sacred books, the peculiar character of which would in consequence be lost. To interpolate or alter any thing in books of the latter kind has commonly been considered as a crime, bordering upon sacrilege. This sentiment may be counteracted in a certain degree; but it is a very general, a very natural, and a very strong one. The care of any community in preserving their sacred books from corruption will be proportioned to the value which they set upon those books; and the degree in which they value them will be proportioned to the interest which they feel in their religion. But no men ever felt that interest more strongly than the Christians of the first two centuries. There is, therefore, as we might expect, abundant evidence extant in their writings, that they had as great reverence for the sacred books of our religion, and were as little disposed to make, or to suffer, an admixture of foreign matter with their genuine text, as Christians of the present day. I will quote a few passages in proof of this fact.

The first writer by whom any one of the Gospels is expressly mentioned is Papias, who lived about the beginning of the second century,* a contemporary of the disciples of the

* The assertion of Eichhorn, that we find no traces of our first three Gospels before the end of the second century, can be reconciled with well-known and undisputed facts only by supposing that our present Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke have been so corrupted, as not to be essentially the same with those which anciently bore their names.—I scarcely know whether it is worth while to observe, that Eichhorn repeatedly quotes the mention by Papias of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. In one place, he says, that, "long before the end of the second century, the authors of the first three Gospels are named as authors of narratives of the life of Jesus; as, for example, Matthew and Mark are so named by Papias." Einleitung in d. N. T. Vol. i. (2nd Ed.) p. 684.

Apostles. He speaks particularly of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, affirming that they were composed by those individuals; and that the Gospel of Mark was founded on the oral narratives of Peter. He applies to them the title of *oracles*.* The respect in which they were held appears from this title, and from the authors to whom they were referred. Christians would neither corrupt such works, nor suffer them to be corrupted.

About the middle of the second century, Justin Martyr describes the histories of Christ which he used, as written by Apostles and their companions,† by those whom Christians believed.‡ He says, that either these books, or the writings of the Jewish prophets, were read in Christian churches, on the first day of every week.§ He everywhere appeals to them as of undoubted authority. They were regarded by him, we may infer, as entitled to at least equal reverence with the Jewish Scriptures. But in the dialogue which he represents himself as having held with Trypho, an unbelieving Jew, he charges the Jews with having expunged certain passages of the Old Testament relating to Christ. To this Trypho answers, that the charge seems to him incredible. Justin replies,—"It does seem incredible; for to mutilate the Scriptures would be a more fearful crime than the worship of the golden calf, or than the sacrifice of children to demons, or than slaying the prophets themselves."‖ It is not probable that Christians were tampering with their own sacred books, at a time when they had such feelings respecting those of the Old Testament. The histories of Christ used by Justin, I shall hereafter show, were our present Gospels.

Some of the heretics, in the second century, made, or were charged with making, alterations in the Christian Scriptures, in order to accommodate them to their own opinions. Of

* Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii. c. 39.
† Dial. cum Tryph. p. 361. Ed. Thirlb.
‡ Apolog. prim. p. 54.
§ Ibid. p. 97.
‖ Dial. cum Tryph. p. 296.

such corrupters of Scripture, Dionysius, who was Bishop of Corinth about the year 170, thus speaks:—"I have written epistles at the desire of the brethren. But the apostles of the devil have filled them with darnel, taking out some things, and adding others. Against such, a woe is denounced. It is not wonderful, therefore, that some have undertaken to corrupt the Scriptures of the Lord, since they have corrupted writings not to be compared with them."* The meaning of Dionysius is, that, the persons spoken of having shown their readiness to commit such a crime, it was not strange that they should even corrupt the Scriptures; these being works of much higher authority than his epistles, and from the falsification of which more advantage was to be gained. We perceive how strongly he expresses his sense of the guilt of such corruption; a sentiment common, without doubt, to a great majority of Christians. When Dionysius wrote, it clearly could not have been esteemed innocent, and a matter of indifference, for transcribers to make intentional alterations in their copies of the Gospels. Yet this is one of the passages which have been adduced to show that such was their common practice.† But as we have no reason to doubt that the prevailing sentiment was that which Dionysius has expressed, we may confidently infer, that Christians did not generally practise or permit what was esteemed a work of "the apostles of the devil," and one "against which a woe was denounced."

"We have not received," says his contemporary, Irenæus, "the knowledge of the way of our salvation, by any others than those, through whom the Gospel has come down to us; which Gospel they first preached, and afterwards, by the will of God, transmitted to us in writing, that it might be the foundation and pillar of our faith."‡ He immediately proceeds to speak particularly of the composition of the four Gospels, referring them to the authors to whom they are com-

* Apud Euseb. H. E. Lib. iv. c. 23.

† See before, p. 9.

‡ Cont. Hæres. Lib. iii. c. 1. p. 173. Ed. Massuet.

monly ascribed. These books he afterwards represents as the most important books of Scripture; * and the Scriptures he calls "oracles of God." † "We know," he says, "that the Scriptures are perfect, as dictated by the Logos of God, and his spirit." ‡

Such passages show the reverence in which the Scriptures were held, and the feelings with which any corruption of them must have been regarded. They are, likewise, irreconcilable with the supposition, that the Gospels had but just appeared in their present form; and that, previously, those who possessed copies of these books had regarded them only "as an article of private property, in which any alterations were allowable." § If the Gospels had been partly the work of unknown transcribers, the fact must have been notorious; and no writer, of whatever character, would have ventured to use such language as that of Irenæus.

Clement of Alexandria, his contemporary, calls the Scriptures divinely inspired, || divine and holy books. ¶ He speaks of the four Gospels, in contradistinction from all other accounts of Christ, as having been handed down to the Christians of his age; ** and he gives an account of the order of succession in which they were composed; saying that this account was derived from the presbyters of former times. ††

Tertullian manifests the same reverence for the Scriptures, and especially for the Gospels, as his contemporaries, Irenæus and Clement. He, like them, quotes the Gospels as works of decisive authority, in the same manner as any modern theologian might do. He wrote much against the heretic Marcion, whom he charges with having rejected the other Gospels,

* Cont. Hæres. Lib. iii. c. 11. § 8. p. 190.
† Ibid. Lib. i. c. 8. § 1. p. 37.
‡ Ibid. Lib. ii. c. 28. § 2. p. 156.
§ See before, p. 8.
|| Stromat. Lib. vii. § 16. p. 894. Ed. Potter.
¶ Pædagog. Lib. iii. c. 12. p. 309.
** Stromat. Lib. iii. § 13. p. 553.
†† Apud Euseb. H. E. Lib. vi. c. 14.

and having mutilated the Gospel of Luke, to conform it to his system. This leads him to make some statements which have a direct bearing on the present subject. "I affirm," says Tertullian, "that not only in the churches founded by Apostles, but in all which have fellowship with them, *that* Gospel of Luke, which we so steadfastly defend, has been received from its first publication." "The same authority," he adds, "of the apostolic churches will support the other Gospels, which, in like manner, we have from them, conformably to their copies."* "They," he says, "who were resolved to teach otherwise than the truth, were under a necessity of new-modelling the records of the doctrine." "As they could not have succeeded in corrupting the doctrine without corrupting its records, so we could not have preserved and transmitted the doctrine in its integrity, but by preserving the integrity of its records." †

I quote only a few short passages from Christian writers, and those which have the most immediate relation to my present purpose; because I shall, hereafter, have occasion to show, more at length, the general reception of the Gospels, and the reverence in which they were held, at the end of the second century. The following is from an anonymous writer against the heresy of Artemon. He accuses those who maintained this heresy of corrupting the Scriptures, and adds:— "How daring a crime this is, they can hardly be ignorant. For either they do not believe that the divine Scriptures were dictated by the Holy Spirit; and then they are infidels; or they believe themselves wiser than the Holy Spirit; and what are they, then, but madmen?" ‡ Origen, in like manner, regarded the Scriptures as dictated by the Holy Spirit. He has many passages which correspond to the following, from one of his commentaries. "After this Mark says [x. 50], *And he, casting away his garment, leaped and came to Jesus.*

* Advers. Marcion. Lib. iv. § 5. pp. 415, 416. Ed. Priorii.

† De Præscript. Hæret. § 38. p. 216.

‡ Apud Euseb. H. E. Lib. v. c. 28.

Did the Evangelist write without thought, when he related that the man cast away his garment, and leaped and came to Jesus? Or shall we dare to say, that this was inserted in the Gospel without purpose? I believe that not one jot or one tittle of the divine instructions is without purpose." *

In commenting upon Matthew xix. 19, Origen suspects, for reasons which it is unnecessary to state, the genuineness of the words, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;* but he says, that if it were not for the number of various readings found in different copies of the Gospels, "it might well seem irreverent in any one to suspect that the precept has been inserted here, without its having been mentioned by the Saviour." †

The passages quoted show the state of opinion and feeling among Christians during the first two centuries. They have been alleged to prove nothing in itself improbable; but, on the contrary, the existence of sentiments, which it is incredible should not have existed. But it is clear, that those who entertained them would neither make nor permit intentional alterations in the Gospels.

II. About the close of the second century, different Christian writers express strong censure of the mutilations and changes which they charge some heretics, particularly Marcion, with having made in the Gospels and other books of the New Testament. Some passages to this effect have been quoted. It is unnecessary to adduce others; because the fact is well known and universally admitted. The feeling expressed by those writers was common without doubt to Christians generally. But they could not have felt, or have expressed themselves, as they did, if their own copies of the Gospels had been left, as is imagined, at the mercy of transcribers; and there had been such a disagreement, as must in consequence have existed, among them. What text

* Comment. in Matth. Tom. xvi. § 12. Opp. iii. 734.
† Ibid. Tom. xv. § 14. Opp. iii. 671.

of their own would they have had to oppose to the text of Marcion, or of any other heretic? What would they have had to bring forward but a collection of discordant manuscripts, many of them, probably, differing as much from each other, as the altered gospels of the heretics did from any one of them? If our Gospels had not existed in their present form till the close of the second century, if, before that time, their text had been fluctuating, and assuming in different copies a different form, such as transcribers might choose to give it,—those by whom they were used could not have ventured to speak with such confidence of the alterations of the heretics. They must have apprehended too strongly the overwhelming retort, to which they lay so exposed, and against which they were so defenceless. If, however, any one can imagine that they really would have been bold enough to make the charges which they do against heretics, yet in this case they must, at least, have shown strong solicitude to guard the point where they themselves were so liable to attack. But no trace of such solicitude appears.

III. We happen to have, in the works of a single writer, decisive evidence that no such differences ever existed in the manuscripts of the Gospels as are supposed in the hypothesis under consideration; and consequently that no such liberties as have been imagined were ever taken by their transcribers. Origen was born about the year 185, and flourished during the first half of the third century, dying about the year 254. He was particularly skilled in the criticism of the Scriptures. His labors upon the text of the Septuagint are well known. He had in his possession, or had the means of consulting, various manuscripts of the Gospels, of which he made a critical use, noticing their various readings. His notices are principally found in commentaries, which he wrote on the Gospels. Under these circumstances, if the manuscripts of the first and second centuries had differed from each other as much as has been imagined, we should expect to find distinct

evidence of the fact in the voluminous writings of this early father. But this is not the case. On the contrary, the language which he uses, and the kind of various readings which he actually adduces, prove that he was ignorant of any such diversities as have been fancied. But he could not have been ignorant of them, if they had existed. I give in a note, at the end of this volume,* all the various readings which he mentions, so far as I have been able to collect them. They are all unimportant variations. The greater part of them are still extant in our manuscripts. He remarks upon no such diversities as must have existed, if transcribers had indulged in such licentious alterations as have been supposed. On the contrary, the citations and remarks of Origen are adapted to produce a conviction, that the manuscripts of his time differed, to say the least, as little from each other, as the manuscripts now extant; and consequently, that before his time there was the same care to preserve the original text, as there has been since.

This conviction is not weakened by a passage in his writings, which may seem at first view to favor the opposite opinion. The passage has been already referred to in this chapter, for the purpose of proving the reverence in which the Gospels were held;† but we will now attend to it a little more particularly. Origen, as has been said, was led by a course of reasoning of considerable subtilty, to doubt the genuineness of the words, Matthew xix. 19, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.* After stating his arguments at some length, he says:—"But if it were not that in many other passages there is a difference among copies, so that all those of the Gospel of Matthew do not agree together, and so also as it regards the other Gospels, it might well seem irreverent in any one to suspect that the precept has been inserted here, without its having been mentioned by the Saviour. But it is evident that there exists much difference among copies; partly from the carelessness of some tran-

* See Additional Note, B. † See before, p. 42.

scribers; partly from the rashness of others in altering improperly what they find written; and partly from those revisers who add or strike out according to their own judgment."* He immediately subjoins, that he had provided a remedy for such errors in the copies of the Septuagint, by giving a new critical edition of it.

In this passage, nothing is referred to but well-known, common causes of error in the transcription of manuscripts. We learn from it, that transcribers were sometimes careless; that they sometimes improperly altered from conjecture a reading in the copy before them, which they fancied to be erroneous; and that those whose business it was to revise manuscripts after transcription, for the purpose of correcting errors, did sometimes, in the want of proper critical apparatus, rely too much upon their mere judgment concerning what was probably the true text. These are all propositions, which we might credit without the testimony of Origen. His language in speaking of the difference among the manuscripts of the Gospels, though he had a particular purpose in representing it as considerable, is much less strong than what has been used by some modern critics, and among them by Griesbach himself, in speaking of the disagreement among our present copies. The expressions of the latter, as one may easily satisfy himself, are very loose and exaggerated.† If

* Νυνὶ δὲ δηλονότι πολλὴ γέγονεν ἡ τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφορά, εἴτε ἀπὸ ῥαθυμίας τινῶν γραφέων, εἴτε ἀπὸ τόλμης τινῶν, μοχθηρᾶς τῆς [lege τε] διορθώσεως τῶν γραφομένων, εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντα, ἐν τῇ διορθώσει, προστιθέντων ἢ ἀφαιρούντων. Comment. in Matth. Tom. xv. § 14. Opp. iii. 671. The passage has been sometimes misunderstood, as having reference to the intentional corruptions of the heretics. But διορθόω and its derivatives are technical words, used respecting the correction of manuscripts after transcription, for the purpose of removing the errors of the transcriber. The words used in speaking of intentional corruption are ῥᾳδιουργέω and its relatives.

† Griesbach, for instance, says (in the Prolegomena to his New Testament, sect. iii.), that what he calls the Alexandrine text of the New Testament differs from what he calls the Western text, "in its whole conformation and entire coloring," *toto suo habitu universoque colore.* According to him, if we take the quotations of Origen and Clement, certain manuscripts, and certain other authorities, all of which he classes together as Alexandrine, and settle the text of the

they had been found in Origen, it might have been difficult to believe, that the agreement among the copies of the Gospels existing in his time was really as great as we know it to be among those extant at the present day. His language, such as it is, affords no ground for a contrary supposition.

But the passage before us deserves further attention in several points of view. In the first place, it goes to prove, as has been remarked, the reverence with which the Gospels were regarded. In the next place, it shows the importance which the most eminent Christian writer of his age attached to the *proposal* of omitting a few words in the text of St. Matthew. But this renders incredible the supposition, that it had been common for the possessors and transcribers of manuscripts to make intentional changes in the text of the Gospels. The passage shows the prevalence of a sentiment wholly inconsistent with the disposition to make such changes; and the prevalence of a belief in the genuineness of their text, which could not have existed if such changes had been common. This sentiment and belief are further exhibited in

New Testament from them alone, this text will differ in its whole aspect from that which may be formed, by a similar process, from the quotations of Tertullian and Cyprian, and the other authorities which, according to him, belong to the Western class. All that seems necessary to enable one acquainted with the subject to perceive the extravagance of Griesbach's language is to have his attention directed to it. It is inconsistent with his own statements elsewhere, and with indisputable facts. Some further remarks on the looseness with which Griesbach has expressed himself in several instances, and on his theory respecting different revisions of the text of the New Testament, may be found in the Additional Note which forms a sort of appendix to the First Part of the present work.

The assertion of Griesbach above quoted is made by him in a merely critical essay, in which anything like exaggeration was least to be expected. If an assertion of a similar kind had been found in any work, however declamatory, of a writer of the first three centuries, the circumstance might have seemed embarrassing, as respects the present argument. We should, however, have been equally justified in regarding such language as highly extravagant in the one case as in the other. I advert to these facts in order to illustrate a principle of considerable importance, that single passages from a particular writer are often of very little weight or importance, when opposed to a conclusion resting upon strong probabilities. Many writers, who have no intention of deceiving, are far from being accurate and attentive in estimating the meaning and force of their words.

another passage of Origen, where, comparing the prediction of our Saviour, *The Son of man shall be three days and three nights in the earth,* with his declaration to the penitent robber, *This night thou shalt be with me in paradise,* he says, that "some have been so troubled with the seeming inconsistency as to venture to suspect the latter words of being an interpolation."* But further, the passage before us shows, that Origen did not regard the Gospels as having been exposed to any other causes of error than those common in the transcription of manuscripts, such, for instance, as had operated, and without doubt much more extensively, in the copies of the Septuagint. And lastly, the language of this passage affords proof, if such proof be needed, that Origen had no disposition to keep out of view, or to extenuate, the differences among the copies of the Gospels extant in his time. We may, therefore, be satisfied that none of more importance existed, than what we find noticed by him.

It appears, then, that Origen thought the diversities of manuscripts a subject deserving particular attention; that he was rather disposed to complain of the carelessness and rashness of transcribers and revisers, and to exaggerate the discrepancies which had been thus produced; and yet that he never mentions the existence of any more important differences among the copies of the Gospels extant in his time, than such various readings as are found in our present manuscripts. He was ignorant, therefore, of any such differences as are supposed in the hypothesis under consideration. But, if unknown to him, they were unknown to other Christians at the time when Origen lived, that is, during the first half of the third century. They, therefore, did not exist in the manuscripts of this period. But we, at the present day, have manuscripts of the Gospels written at least twelve hundred years since; and during the first half of the third century, a large portion of all the copies which had

* Ὥστε τολμῆσαι αὐτοὺς ὑπονοῆσαι, κ. τ. λ. Comment. in Joan. Tom. xxxii. § 19. Opp. iv. 455.

ever been made was probably in existence; some, written in the earliest times, and others in succession during the interval. The oldest manuscripts would be sought for by Origen, and other critics contemporary with him; as they have been by critics since his time. The manuscripts of a later date extant in his age were transcripts of others more ancient, and must have perpetuated their discrepancies. But no important discrepancies were known to Origen; they were not found either in earlier or later copies, extant in his age; and it is but little more than stating the same thing in other words, to say that they never had existed.

IV. We may reason in a similar manner from all the notices in ancient writers relating to the text of the Gospels. These notices show, that no greater difference existed among the manuscripts of the Gospels in their day, than exists at present. We may even draw a strong argument from their silence. If there had been narratives or sayings in some copies of the Gospels, not found in the generality, we should have information of it in their works. But, on the contrary, nothing can be alleged from their writings to prove any greater difference among the copies extant in their time, than what is found among those which we now possess. The silence of the fathers proves that there was a similar agreement.

V. When we examine the Gospels themselves, there is nothing which discovers marks of their having been subjected to such a process of interpolation as has been imagined. On the contrary, there is evidence which seems decisive, that each is the work of an individual, and has been preserved as it was written by him. The dialect, the style, and the modes of narration in the Gospels, generally, have a very marked and peculiar character. Each Gospel, also, is distinguished from the others, by individual peculiarities in the use of language, and other characteristics exclusively its own. Any

one familiar with the originals perceives, for instance, that Mark is a writer less acquainted with the Greek language than Luke, and having less command of proper expression. His style is, in consequence, more affected by the idiom of the Hebrew, more harsh, more unformed, more barbarous, in the technical sense of that word. If you were to transfer into Luke's Gospel a chapter from that of Mark, every critic would at once perceive its dissimilitude to the general style of the former. The difference would be still more remarkable, if you were to insert a portion from Mark in John's Gospel. But the very distinctive character of the style of the Gospels generally, and the peculiar character of each Gospel, are irreconcilable with the notion, that they have been brought to their present state by additions and alterations of successive copiers. A diversity of hands would have produced in each Gospel a diversity of style and character. Instead of the uniformity that now appears, the modes of conception and expression would have been inconsistent and vacillating. We are able to give a remarkable exemplification and proof of this fact. With the exception of a few short passages which have been transferred from one Gospel to another, of the doxology at the end of our Lord's prayer in Matthew, and of the story of the woman taken in adultery, as inserted in a very few modern manuscripts at the end of the twenty-first chapter of Luke, there have been found but three *undisputed* interpolations of any considerable length among all the Greek manuscripts of the Gospels; and every one of the three betrays itself to be spurious by its internal character,—by a style of thought and language clearly different from that which characterizes the Gospel in which it has been introduced.* This is not a matter of fancy. It is a point which no critic will dispute. If, then, our present Gospels had been the result of successive additions, made by different hands to a common basis, there would have been a marked diversity of style in different por-

* See Additional Note, C.

tions of the same Gospel; so that these works would have been very unlike what they now are. We should have perceived clear traces of different writers, having greater or less command of expression, accustomed to a different use of language, and viewing the history of Christ under different aspects and with different feelings.

It is true, that in the passage commencing with the fifth verse of the first chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, and extending to the end of the second chapter, there is an observable dissimilarity between the language and that of the remainder of his Gospel; so that it forms an exception to the general remarks which have just been made. This circumstance has given occasion for supposing it to be an interpolation. But the true account seems to be, that this passage was a short narrative, in existence before the work of the Evangelist, which he incorporated with his Gospel; that, if he found it extant in Greek, he did not essentially modify the style; and if in Hebrew, that his translation was literal, and affected throughout by the idiom of the original. The events recorded in this portion of his Gospel, having taken place, as we believe, about sixty years before he wrote, the supposition is in itself probable; and it explains the character of this particular passage, without affecting the force of the preceding reasoning. On the contrary, this is strengthened by the circumstance, that where an exception occurs we can assign a special and probable cause for it. It may be observed, further, that our being able to perceive so much difference between the language of this portion of St. Luke's Gospel, and that of the remainder, shows the general uniformity and marked character of St. Luke's style.

Upon the hypothesis under consideration, it is as probable that the stories collected by various transcribers would have been added to St. John's Gospel, as to any one of the other Gospels. By comparing his Gospel with the other three, we perceive that there were many narratives concerning Christ in existence, which are not contained in the former, and

which would have afforded an abundant harvest for an interpolator. But it is obvious that no such additions have been made to St. John's Gospel, as are supposed to have been commonly made to the histories of Christ. The modes of thinking, and the style, are uniform throughout, and very marked and distinguishable. It may be separated into a few long divisions, each of which is closely connected within itself; and it contains scarcely any of those short narratives in the style of the other Gospels, among which we must look for the additions which transcribers are supposed to have made to the latter. Such being the facts, it is impossible to believe that this Gospel has ever been essentially corrupted by additions from its copiers. But if this Gospel, equally exposed to corruption with any one of the other three, has not thus suffered from transcribers, we may infer that the same is true of the other three Gospels.

VI. There is also another ground on which we infer, from the uniformity of style in the several Gospels, and the peculiar character of this style, that they have not been interpolated. The Gospels are written in Hellenistic Greek, a dialect used by Jews imperfectly acquainted with the Greek language, and intimately affected, in consequence, by the influence of the Hebrew. A native Greek could not have written in this dialect, if he would, without having made it a particular study. Now it is through the Gentile branch of the early converts, that Christianity and the Gospels have been transmitted to us. But we know from the New Testament, that in the very beginning there were strong tendencies to schism between the Jewish and Gentile converts. After the death of the Apostles, and the destruction of Jerusalem, the former, generally speaking, separated themselves more and more from the latter; they remained strongly attached to their law; they were reputed heretics; they seem to have made little or no use of the books which constitute the New Testament, with the exception of the Gospel of Matthew; and, at

last, after four or five centuries, they disappear from our view. It would be a very improbable supposition, that any considerable number of the copies of the Gospels used by Gentile Christians were made by Jewish transcribers, or interpolated by Jews. It is not to such copies that we can trace back the lineage of our own. Only a portion of the Jews were acquainted with the Greek language as written; and very few, it is probable, exercised the trade of transcribers in that language. Origen, in attempting to explain the cause of a supposed error, which he believed to have arisen from ignorance of the Hebrew, speaks of the Gospels as having been continually transcribed by Greeks unacquainted with that language.* But the Gospels are throughout written in Hellenistic Greek. Whatever interpolations may be fancied to exist, they do not discover themselves by being written in pure and common Greek. These fancied interpolations, however, are supposed to have been made by a series of transcribers. But these transcribers, as we have seen, must, generally, have been Gentiles; and Gentiles would hardly have interpolated in Hebrew-Greek; or, to say the least, would hardly have interpolated in Hebrew-Greek so uniformly that we should not be able to trace any considerable departure from this dialect.

VII. In those cases in which we have good reason to suspect an ancient writing of being spurious altogether, or of having received spurious additions, the fact is almost always betrayed by something in the character of the writing itself. Spurious works, and interpolations in genuine works, are discovered, for instance, by something not congruous to the character of the pretended author; by a style different from that of his genuine writings; by the expression of opinions and feelings which it is improbable that he entertained; by discovering an ignorance of facts with which he must have been

* Ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων συνεχῶς γραφόμενα τὰ εὐαγγέλια μὴ εἰδότων τὸν διάλεκτον. Comment. in Matth. Tom. xvi. § 19. Opp. iii. 748.

acquainted; by a use of language, and the introduction of modes of conception, not known at the period to which they are assigned; by an implied reference to opinions, events, or even books, of a later age; or by some bearing and purpose not consistent with the time when they are pretended to have been written. Traces of the times when they were really composed are almost always apparent. This must have been the case with the Gospels, if they had been conformed, as has been imagined, to the traditions and doctrines of the church in the second century. But, putting this notion out of view, we should have perceived distinct traces of a later age than the period assigned for their composition, if they had been subjected to alterations and additions from different editors and transcribers, with different views and feelings, and more or less interested and excited about the opinions and controversies which had sprung up in their own times. But no traces of a later age than that which we assign for their composition appear in the Gospels. He who fairly examines the scanty list of passages which have been produced, as giving some countenance to an opposite opinion, may fully satisfy himself of the correctness of this assertion. I will quote in proof of it a passage from Eichhorn, which I am unable to reconcile with the statements before adduced from him, and with other parts of his writings; but which, evidently, derives additional weight from this inconsistency. In a section "on the credibility" of the Gospels, after mentioning by name Matthew, Mark, and Luke, as the authors of the first three, he thus proceeds:—"Everything in their narratives corresponds to the age in which they lived and wrote, and to the circumstances in which we must believe them to have been placed,—an unanswerable proof of their credibility. No one has yet appeared, who, in this respect, has convicted them of want of truth; and until this be done by satisfactory evidence, their credibility may be confidently maintained." * If, then, the Gospels do not bear the impression of later times, but cor-

* Einleitung in d. N. T. i. 639.

respond in their character to the age in which we believe them to have been written, this must be regarded as a strong proof that they are genuine, uncorrupted works of that age.

VIII. The character and actions of Jesus Christ, as exhibited in the Gospels, are peculiar and extraordinary beyond all example. They distinguish him, in a most remarkable manner, from all other men. They display the highest moral sublimity. We perceive, throughout, an ultimate purpose of the most extensive benevolence. But this character of Christ, which appears in the Gospels, is exhibited with perfect consistency. Whatever he is represented as saying or doing corresponds to the fact or the conception,—call it which we will,—that he was a teacher sent from God, indued with the highest powers, and intrusted with the most important office ever exercised upon earth. The different parts of each Gospel harmonize together. Now, let any one consider how unlikely it is that we should have found this consistency in the representation of Christ, if the Gospels had been in great part the work of inconsiderate or presumptuous copiers; or if they had consisted, in great part, of a collection of traditionary stories; and especially if these stories had been, as some have imagined, either fabulous accounts of miracles, or narratives having a foundation in truth, but corresponding so little to the real fact as to have assumed a miraculous character, which there was nothing in the fact itself to justify. It is incredible, that under such circumstances there should be the consistency which now appears in the Gospels. On the contrary, we might expect to find in them stories of the same kind with those which were found, or are still found, in certain writings that have been called apocryphal gospels; stories which betray their falsehood at first view, by their incongruity with the character and actions of our Saviour, as displayed by the Evangelists. We shall have occasion to notice some of them more particularly hereafter. Every one acquainted with the stories referred to must perceive and acknowledge their striking

dissimilitude to the narratives of the Gospels. A dissimilitude of the same kind would have existed between different parts of the Gospels, if they had grown, as has been imagined, to their present form, by a gradual contribution of traditionary tales. On the contrary, their consistency in the representation of our Saviour is one among the many proofs, that they have been preserved essentially as they were first written.

We have seen, then, in the present chapter, that there is no reason to doubt that the Christians of the first two centuries had the highest reverence for their sacred books; and that, with this sentiment, they could neither have made, nor have suffered, alterations in the Gospels;—that the manner in which the Christian fathers speak of the corruptions with which they charged some of the heretics implies, from the nature of the case, that they knew of no similar corruptions in their own copies of the Gospels;—that from the notice which Origen takes of the various readings found by him in his manuscripts of the Gospels, we may conclude, that no considerable diversity among the manuscripts of the Gospels had ever existed;—that we may infer the same from all the other notices respecting the text of the Gospels in the writings of the fathers; and from the absence of any thing in their works which might show that their copies differed more from each other, than those now extant;—that the peculiar style of the Gospels generally, and the uniform style of each Gospel, afford proof that each is, essentially, the work of one author, which has been preserved unaltered;—that this argument becomes more striking, when we consider that far the greater number of the copies of the Gospels, during the first two centuries, were made by Greek transcribers, who, if they had interpolated, would have interpolated in common Greek; that it is from copies made by them that our own are derived; but that the Gospels, as we possess them, are written, throughout, in that dialect of the Greek which was used only by Jews;—that spurious works, or spurious additions to genuine works,

may commonly be discovered by some incongruity with the character or the circumstances of the pretended author, or with the age to which they are assigned; but that no such incongruity appears in the Gospels as may throw any doubt upon their general character;—and, lastly, that the consistency preserved throughout each of the Gospels in all that relates to the actions, discourses, and most extraordinary character of Christ, shows that each is a work which remains the same essentially as it was originally written, uncorrupted by subsequent alterations or additions.

It has, indeed, been already remarked, that the Gospel of St. Matthew was probably written in Hebrew; and that we possess only a Greek translation. So far, therefore, as regards this Gospel, a part of the arguments adduced, especially those in the first chapter, apply directly only to prove the uncorrupt preservation of the Greek copy. But I am not aware of any consideration that may lead us to suspect that the Greek is not a faithful rendering from the Hebrew copy or copies used by the translator; or that the exemplar he followed did not essentially correspond with the original. On the contrary, there seems no reasonable ground for doubt respecting either proposition.

It is true, that the three additions before suggested * may have been made to the Hebrew text used by the translator. The liability to those accidents that attend the transcription of books was, probably, increased in the case of Matthew's Gospel by a more than ordinary want of skill and judgment in some of its Hebrew copyists; for the transcription of books cannot be supposed to have been an art much practised among the native Jews of Palestine. But the causes of error in the text used by Matthew's translator could have operated but a short time, since we cannot suppose the interval between the

* See before, p. 16, 17.

composition and translation of the Gospel to have been more than about fifty years.

In regard to the hypothesis we have been considering, of licentious and intentional additions by transcribers, as we have seen that there is no ground for it as regards the Greek Gospels, so we may infer that the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew did not thus suffer during the fifty years after its first appearance. The supposition that it did so, being altogether improbable in itself, would require strong, direct proof to justify us in admitting it: but, on the contrary, there is nothing to set aside the conclusion, founded on the general analogy of other writings, that this Gospel was the work of an individual author, and was, during the short interval before its translation, preserved essentially as written by him.

Speaking of the time when the Hebrew original alone was extant, Papias says, that "every one translated it as he could;" meaning, I conceive, that he translated it to himself in reading it. His words, it is evident, directly imply, that it was in the hands of readers whose vernacular language was the Greek. Many of the Jewish converts, without doubt, were capable of understanding it both in the Hebrew and the Greek. There were, therefore, contemporary judges of the correspondence of the translation with the original, by whom its correspondence was not questioned; for had it been, we should have known the fact. Nor is an expression of doubt concerning its authenticity to be found in any subsequent age; on the other hand, controvertists, the most opposed to each other, agreed in using the Greek translation as a common authority.

But the whole supposition of licentious alterations in the Gospels from the text of their original authors must rest on the belief, that there was a general indifference among the early Christians about the genuineness and authenticity of the books from which they derived a knowledge of their reli-

gion. Those writings they might have preserved uncorrupted, if they would. But such, it must be presumed, was their negligence and folly, that they cared not whether the contents of the Gospels were true or false; whether they proceeded from Apostles and Evangelists, or from unknown and anonymous individuals. Christians, at the time of which we speak, were submitting to severe privations, and exposing themselves to great sufferings, for their religion. They were supported by a conviction of the infinite value of the truths which it taught, those truths, the knowledge of which was preserved, as they believed, in the writings of its first disciples. But, if we suppose the text of any one of the Gospels to have suffered essential alteration, we must suppose that Christians were indifferent about the contents of those books, which they regarded as the authentic records of their faith, their duties, their consolations, and their hopes. It seems, therefore, not too much to say of the hypothesis of the essential corruption of the Gospels, that it is irreconcilable with any just conception of the circumstances and feelings of the early Christians, and of the moral nature of man.

CHAPTER III.

OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED.

Upon what arguments, then, rests the supposition, that essential alterations have been made in the Gospels since their original composition? These arguments, whatever they are, if of any force, must assume the character of objections and difficulties, when viewed in relation to the proposition, the truth of which has been maintained. But strongly as the corruption of the Gospels has been asserted, I am unacquainted with any formal statement of arguments in its proof.

Those by whom it has been principally maintained belong to that large class of German critics, who reject the belief of any thing properly miraculous in the history of Christ. But the difficulty of reconciling this disbelief of the miracles with the admission of the truth of facts concerning him not miraculous is greatly increased, if the Gospels be acknowledged as the uncorrupted works of those who were witnesses of what they relate, or who derived their information immediately from such witnesses. On the other hand, in proportion as suspicion is cast upon the genuineness and authenticity of those writings, the history of Christ becomes doubtful and obscure. An opening is made for theories concerning his life, character, and works, and the origin of his religion. Any account of our Saviour, upon the supposition that he was not a teacher from God indued with miraculous powers, must be almost wholly conjectural. But such a conjectural account will appear to less disadvantage if placed in competition with narratives of uncertain origin, than if brought into direct opposition to the authority of original witnesses.

The theory of the corruption of the Gospels has been con-

nected with an hypothesis concerning the manner in which the first three Gospels were formed; from which, as I conceive, it has been regarded as deriving its main support. This hypothesis is intended to account for the remarkable phenomena in the agreement and disagreement of the first three Gospels with each other. It has been explained and defended, with much clearness and ability, by Bishop Marsh.* It supposes the existence of an original document, a brief narrative of the public life of Christ, the Original Gospel of Eichhorn. This document, it is believed, was in the hands of several persons, who added to it different narratives, according to their respective information, so that copies of it were in existence with different additions. Each of the first three Evangelists is thought to have used a different copy as the basis of his Gospel. It is then only to suppose that the same custom of making additions, which was common in regard to the original document just mentioned, prevailed afterwards in regard to the Gospels, and we have the very supposition against which we have been contending.

To this the answer is, that the hypothesis, in any form in which it may be presented, can, at most, be regarded only as creating a presumption that the Gospels have been corrupted; and this presumption would be of no force in opposition to the facts stated in the two preceding chapters. It would only bring suspicion upon the hypothesis itself; since this must be conformed to all the facts which have a bearing upon it. The latter must not be made to bend to the former. With such a view of the subject, it would be improper, in this place, to enter into a particular examination of the theory in question. Such an examination, however, may be found in one of the additional notes to this volume.† If the rea-

* In his "Dissertation on the Origin and Composition of the three first Canonical Gospels," and his tracts in the controversy occasioned by an anonymous publication (of which Bishop Randolph was the author) entitled, "Remarks on Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament; by Way of Caution to Students in Divinity."

† See Additional Note, D.

soning there urged be correct, it will appear that the hypothesis of an original document gradually receiving additions from different hands, and used in different forms by the first three Evangelists, involves suppositions which cannot be admitted; that it is unnecessary in order to account for the agreement of the Gospels with each other; and that it is neither implied, nor rendered probable by the phenomena to be explained; but that, on the contrary, it is inconsistent with those phenomena.

It may be recollected, that the original Gospel is regarded by Eichhorn, not only as the common source of our first three Gospels, but likewise of certain apocryphal gospels, which were in use before them.* These, according to him, were the following: the Gospel of the Hebrews; the Gospel of Marcion; the Memoirs by the Apostles, used by Justin Martyr; the gospel adopted by Cerinthus and his sect; gospels used by Tatian in composing his Diatessaron; and those used by the Apostolic Fathers. These gospels, and our first three Gospels, are all supposed to have been so intimately connected, as to prove their derivation from a common original; and the knowledge which we possess respecting their contents is regarded as illustrating the process of change and growth which they had all gone through. I shall, in the course of this work, remark, under the proper heads, upon the gospels mentioned by Eichhorn, and endeavour to show, that the Gospel of the Hebrews was, probably, in its primitive state, the Hebrew original of St. Matthew; that the books used by Justin were our four Gospels; that there is no reason to doubt that the *four* gospels, which, toward the end of the second century, Tatian, who had been a disciple of Justin Martyr, made the basis of his Diatessaron, were the four canonical Gospels; that Marcion had a mutilated copy of St. Luke,—a fact which, in consequence of the examinations that have taken place since Eichhorn wrote, seems now to be generally undisputed; that the scanty, uncertain, contradictory

* See before, p. 6, seqq.

information respecting Cerinthus and his sect affords no ground for the conclusion, that they used a peculiar gospel; and that there is nothing in the writings ascribed to Apostolic Fathers which may justify the supposition, that, previously to the general reception of our four Gospels, other gospels were in common circulation among Christians as authentic histories of Christ.

It is, moreover, affirmed by Eichhorn as a general truth, that, "before the invention of printing, in transcribing a manuscript, the most arbitrary alterations were considered as allowable; since they affected only an article of private property, written for the use of an individual."* It follows, that in maintaining that the Gospels have undergone a process of corruption, one is only maintaining that they shared the common fate of all other ancient writings. In proof of his general proposition, Eichhorn alleges, that there are many manuscripts of chronicles of the Middle Ages, which, purporting to be copies of the same work, yet present different texts, some containing more and others less; and in further evidence that the most arbitrary alterations by transcribers were considered as allowable, he cites Dionysius of Corinth as calling some who had corrupted his writings, apostles of of Satan. But the proposition, though apparently laid down as the basis of his hypothesis, is so obviously false as hardly to admit of remark or contradiction. It could only have been made through some strange inadvertence. As the ordinary mode of dealing with books in ancient times was, as every one knows, the reverse of what Eichhorn supposes, it must need very strong and special reasons to render the conjecture probable, that the Gospels were made exceptions to the common usage.

As evidence that such was the case, that the Gospels were subjected to a mode of treatment different from that which

* See before, p. 9.

other books experienced, a few passages have been quoted from ancient writers; which, in fact, form the whole of what can be considered as a direct attempt to prove the proposition. Two of them, one from Dionysius of Corinth, and the other from Origen, we have already had occasion to examine, and their true bearing appears to be directly opposed to the supposition which they have been brought to establish.* Two others remain to be considered.

"Celsus," says Eichhorn, "objects to the Christians, that they had changed their Gospels three times, four times, and oftener, as if they were deprived of their senses."† The passage is twice quoted by him, and therefore, it may be presumed, is regarded as an important proof of his theory. If it were correctly represented in the words which have been given, the first obvious answer would be, that such a charge is as little to be credited upon the mere assertion of Celsus, as various other calumnies of that writer against the Christians, which no one at the present day believes. But Celsus does not say what he is represented as saying. He does not bring the charge against Christians generally, but against *some* Christians. His words are preserved in the work composed by Origen in reply to Celsus; and, correctly rendered, are as follows:—"Afterwards Celsus says, that some believers,‡ like men driven by drunkenness to commit violence on themselves, have altered the Gospel-history,§ since its first composition, three times, four times, and oftener, and have refashioned it, so as to be able to deny the objections made against it." To this, the whole reply of Origen is as follows:—"I know of none who have altered the Gospel-history, except the followers of Marcion, of Valentinus, and I think

* See before, pp. 38, 39, and p. 44 seqq.

† See before, p. 10.

‡ Τινὰς τῶν πιστευόντων, φησὶν [Κέλσος], κ. τ. λ.

§ Literally, *the Gospel*, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον· but this word is here used, as it is elsewhere in ancient writers, to denote the Gospel-history. In this use of the word, the four Gospels are commonly denoted, considered collectively, as containing this history.

also those of Lucan. But this affords no ground for reproach against the religion itself; but against those who have dared to corrupt the Gospels. And as it is no reproach against philosophy that there are Sophists, or Epicureans, or Peripatetics, or any others who hold false opinions; so also it is no reproach against true Christianity that there are those who have altered the Gospels, and introduced heresies foreign from the teaching of Jesus." *

It is evident that Origen regarded the words of Celsus as a mere declamatory accusation, which he was not called upon to repel by any elaborate reply. A grave charge against the whole body of Christians, of the nature of that which Celsus urges, could not have been dismissed in three sentences of a long and able work in defence of Christianity against his attacks. The charge may have been founded, as Origen supposes, upon the mutilations and corruptions of the Gospels made by some heretics. Another solution of it is, that Celsus, being acquainted with the four Gospels, and perceiving that they had much in common with much that was different, did, on this ground, represent Christians as having given the Gospel-history four different forms. But if we believe that Celsus fully understood the subject, and, having no reference to any heretical sects, or to the existence of four different histories of Christ, really meant to bring against catholic Christians a grave charge of corrupting the Gospels, then we must consider what is the proper inference from the passage. He was, as no one will deny, forward enough in adducing unsupported and calumnious accusations against those whom he was attacking. If there had been any pretence for saying that Christians *generally* had altered and corrupted the Gospels, he would have said it. But he does not. He merely says, whether truly or not may be a question, that *some* Christians had done this. It is of the nature of such a charge, when brought against some of any community, to exculpate the community in general. According, therefore,

* Orig. cont. Cels. Lib. ii. § 27. Opp. i. 411.

to the implied testimony of their enemy, Christians, generally speaking, had not altered nor corrupted the Gospels.

But the passage affords ground for further remark. Celsus compares the conduct of those whom he charges with altering the Gospel-history, or the Gospels, to that of men impelled by drunkenness to commit violence on themselves. Origen does not object to the comparison, and there is no objection to be made to the opinion implied in it, respecting the character and consequences of such a procedure. It is one which the friends and the enemies of the religion must equally have perceived to be correct. The question, therefore, whether the early Christians altered the Gospels, resolves itself into the question, whether they acted like men intoxicated, to the evident ruin of their cause.

The other passage, before referred to, is from Clement of Alexandria. "Clement also, at the end of the second century, speaks of those who corrupted the gospels, and ascribes it to them, that at Matthew v. 10, instead of the words, *for theirs is the kingdom of heaven,* there was found in some manuscripts, *for they shall be perfect;* and in others, *for they shall have a place where they shall not be persecuted.*"* This statement is erroneous. Clement does not speak of those who corrupted, but of those who paraphrased, the Gospels; nor does he give the words alleged by him, as various readings in manuscripts of the Gospels. Quoting the original text incorrectly, probably from memory, in these words,— "Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for they shall be called the sons of God;"† he adds,— "Or as some who have paraphrased the Gospels express it, Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for they shall be perfect; and blessed are they who are persecuted for my sake, for they shall attain a place where they shall not be persecuted."‡ It is of paraphrasts or scholiasts

* See before p. 10.

† The words are not, as given by Eichhorn, *For theirs is the kingdom of heaven.*

‡ Μακάριοι, φησὶν [Κύριος], οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ Θεοῦ

that the passage is understood by Eichhorn himself, when writing without a view to his peculiar theory.* Clement expresses no indignation against those of whom he speaks, as he would have done if they had corrupted the Gospels. On the contrary, his quoting their words as he does implies a certain degree of approbation.

It is remarkable, that, in understanding his words as proving a general license of corruption during his time, the extraordinary and quite incredible nature of the inference which is to be drawn from them has not been adverted to. If his words were thus to be understood, they would prove, not that transcribers made additions to what they found before them, or occasionally omitted or corrupted a passage; but that they indulged themselves in the most wanton alterations of the plain language of the Gospels. There are few passages less exposed to intentional corruption than the one quoted by Clement; and if this were made to assume three such different forms in the manuscripts which he had seen, and if these changes afforded, as is maintained, a specimen of the common practice of transcribers, it would follow, that the text of the Gospels had, in the time of Clement, undergone great alterations, and had assumed a very different character in different manuscripts. There must have been, in his age, an astonishing discordance among different copies of the Gospels. Some must have been very unlike others, in their modes of expression, as well as in their contents. But if this be the legitimate conclusion from the meaning which has been put upon his words, it is only necessary to state it, in order to show that that meaning must be false.

Such are the main arguments in support of the hypothesis of the corruption of the Gospels; or, in other words, such are

κληθήσονται· ἢ, ὡς τινὲς τῶν μετατιθέντων τὰ εὐαγγέλια, Μακάριοι, φησὶν, οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἔσονται τέλειοι, κ. τ. λ. Stromat. Lib. iv. § 6. p. 582.

* Einleitung in d. N. T. iii. 553.

the objections to the proposition, that they remain essentially the same as they were originally composed. The truth of this proposition, it may be recollected, is proved by various considerations, unconnected with each other. It appears from the essential agreement among the very numerous copies of the Gospels, so diverse in their character, and in their mode of derivation from the original. This agreement among different copies could not have existed, unless some archetype had been faithfully followed; and this archetype, it has been shown, could have been no other than the original text. It appears from the reverence in which the Gospels were held by the early Christians, and the deep sense which they had of the impropriety and guilt of making any alteration in those writings. It appears from the historical notices respecting their text, which are wholly inconsistent with the supposition of its having suffered essential corruptions. And, finally, it appears from the internal character of the books themselves, which show no marks of gross, intentional interpolation; but, on the contrary, exhibit a consistency of style and conception irreconcilable with the supposition of it.

If, then, we may consider the proposition as established, that the Gospels remain essentially the same as they were originally composed, the remaining inquiry is, whether they are the works of those to whom they have been ascribed.

NOTE

On some Opinions and Arguments of Eichhorn, and other German Theologians.

My object in this work is, not to show in detail the errors of any particular hypothesis, or of any particular writer; but to exhibit the evidence of the proposition, that the Gospels, as we now possess them, are the works of those to whom they have been ascribed. But in order to maintain this proposition satisfactorily, it is necessary to take notice of the assertions and arguments which have been brought against it. Thus I have adverted in what precedes, and shall continue to do so occasionally in what follows, to the positions involved in the hypothesis of Eichhorn, respecting the time when the Gospels first became known and were generally received by Christians, the circumstances that produced their reception, and their previous history.

But if one had no other purpose than to overthrow that hypothesis, it might seem sufficient for him to say, that it is contradicted and set aside by Eichhorn himself. This will appear from what follows.

In the second edition of the first volume of his Introduction to the New Testament, he gives an additional section (p. 684, seqq.) on "The Reception of the Four Gospels for Use in the Church." He begins this section with representations similar to those which have been already quoted from him.* Referring to the end of the second century, he states, that "This age"—he does not here say "the Church"—"labored zealously and simultaneously to represent Matthew, Mark, Luke and John as the only authentic biographers of Christ, as if this had not been done before; and an earnest effort was now first made to suppress the other gospels, which in earlier times had been abundantly in use." According to him, these labors and efforts soon attained success. In the time of Origen, "our four Gospels had manifestly triumphed over those before in use, in all the principal divisions of the Christian world; though, from the want of any account of the conflict, we are unable to explain how their success was obtained."

* See before, pp. 7, 8.

All this is sufficiently in accordance with what he had said before. But after a single sentence, in which he merely quotes Theophilus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and Irenæus, as vouchers for the general reception and extensive spread of the Gospels, he thus proceeds :—

"The period immediately before the controversies respecting the heresy of the Montanists, and the time of keeping Easter (which commenced shortly after the middle of the second century), that is to say, the interval between the years 150 and 175, appears to be the fittest that can be assigned for the silent introduction of this unanimity of opinion respecting those gospels which merited a preference above others; provided any cause can be pointed out, which might facilitate such a decision. And such a cause existed. The other gospels either did not bear the name of any author, or the individual names of their authors were not specified. On the contrary, our four Gospels were ascribed, two of them to Apostles, Matthew and John, and two to apostolic men, worthy of all credit. Who, therefore, would not prefer these to all others? This circumstance, and the simplicity of their contents, recommended them generally; and so forcibly and distinctly, that, without any consultation or agreement, men were led to give them the preference. In the peaceable times of the Church, before a spirit of contradiction had been excited by polemical bitterness, they were thus silently, and in effect generally, preferred. Afterwards, distinguished writers of the Church, each in his own way, defended the choice which had already been made."

It is obvious that this last passage is wholly irreconcilable with what immediately precedes it, and with the statements previously made by Eichhorn as fundamental positions in his hypothesis. In the section just quoted from, he first gives us to understand, that in the time of Origen, that is, in the first half of the third century, our present Gospels had manifestly triumphed over those before in use; but not without a conflict. He had previously said,* that there are no traces of our present Gospels before the end of the second and the beginning of the third century. About that time, according to him, "the Church," or "the age," first labored to procure their general reception, and to suppress those before in use.

But in the passage last quoted he supposes, that "the interval between the years 150 and 175 is the fittest that can be assigned for the silent

* See before, p. 7.

introduction of a unanimity of opinion" concerning the four Gospels. All notion of any conflict between them and other gospels is put aside. They were received "silently," "without any consultation or agreement," "in peaceable times, before a spirit of controversy had been excited." The Church did not labor to procure their reception about the end of the second or the beginning of the third century. On the contrary, the last year assigned for the period during which they were brought into common use is the year 175;—which preceded by about ten years the birth of Origen, during whose time, according to Eichhorn's first statement, they finally triumphed.

We have here an example of the looseness and incoherence of thought which are found in the works of many modern German theologians. Objects are so indistinctly presented, and under such changeable forms, the light is so thrown here and there, that the eye is dazzled and perplexed by the uncertain show and glimmer. The only advantages attending this mode of writing are, that if the reader be dissatisfied with one opinion, he may have the choice of another; and that the author, if driven from one assertion, may take refuge upon another, which he has equally maintained.

But it may be said, that this self-contradiction of Eichhorn should not be insisted upon; that it is a mere oversight, an hallucination. It was not, however, a temporary hallucination. Several years after the appearance of what I have just quoted, that is in 1827, the last year of his life, he published the fourth and fifth volumes of his Introduction to the New Testament; and in the fourth volume, without retracting, or referring to, the main positions of his hypothesis, he contradicts them as explicitly as in the passage that has been quoted. He is treating of the collection of the books of the New Testament into two volumes, as he supposes, one containing the Gospels, and the other the Epistles.

The heretic Marcion, he says, began to spread his opinions in the West between the years 140 and 150. His gospel, which he carried with him, "was strange" to the Christians in that part of the world, being different from those in use. "The West had been long in possession of separate histories of Christ. Mark and Luke appear, indeed, to have written theirs for Italy, and those of Matthew and John had each, perhaps, been brought by Christians, on their travels, from the countries for which they were originally designed." "Before the controversy with Marcion, there are traces enough of the existence of the

four Gospels separately, but not as collected into one volume." "This collection was probably formed in the commencement of those controversies." "Experience had sufficiently taught the orthodox Church, in the first half of the second century, how necessary it was, on account of the controversies with the heretics, to define the writings which should be regarded as sources of Christianity, and not to leave this to the judgment and choice of individuals." But the selection of these books was not made "through any formal decision of the Church by means of its most distinguished teachers; for this could not have been done privately; but through a silent general agreement, during a period of perfect quiet in the Church, when, men's minds not being excited by other causes, none were inclined to set themselves against the reception of any writing that was strange to them; for, without opposition, and in perfect silence, a series of writings, regarded as the authentic records of Christianity, was unanimously received throughout the Christian world in the East and in the West." *

The utter inconsistency of this account with the statements in the first volume of Eichhorn's work shows with how little consideration the hypothesis there developed was adopted by him, and has been adopted by others. That hypothesis, however, struck its roots deep in the theology of Germany; and many offsets have sprung up from it. There is no other in which propositions tending to weaken men's faith in the genuineness of the Gospels are so elaborately and plausibly embodied. It has essentially affected the speculations of a large class of theologians, particularly among his countrymen. All the doubts and objections on historical grounds, by which the evidence of the genuineness of the Gospels has of late years been assailed, have been connected with it. The question at issue is a very important one. Putting aside all religious considerations, the genuineness of the Gospels is a subject of far more curiosity and interest than that of any work of classical antiquity. But what should we think of a critic who should assail the genuineness of any ancient classical work with such unsteady and inconsistent assertions?

But something still remains to be said. One is placed in an extraordinary position who is arguing against the hypothesis of Eichhorn as invalidating the proof of the genuineness of the Gospels; for Eichhorn himself asserts and defends their genuineness. In the second volume of his Introduction to the New Testament, he reasons at length to

* Einleitung, iv. 22-31.

prove the genuineness of the Gospel of John (pp. 223-254). I have already * quoted from his first volume one passage, in which he maintains the genuineness of all the four Gospels. But his fourth volume presents other passages more remarkable. In the flux and reflux of opinions on which his hypothesis was borne up, the flow was in his first volume, and the ebb in his fourth.

In the latter volume he treats of the formation of the canon of the New Testament. The early Christians, according to him, proceeded on the principle of admitting into it no book which was not the work of an Apostle, or of a scholar and companion of the Apostles (p. 42). He gives us to understand, that as regards most of the books which compose it, "criticism, in the perfection to which it has been brought in our age, allies itself to the tradition of the Church, and confirms its judgment upon their genuineness as apostolic writings" (p. 67). After enumerating and remarking upon several which he rejects, he says: —"The remaining writings"—including the Gospels—"which the Church has received into the canon of the New Testament appear, after the strictest critical examination, as genuine documents of the Christian religion" (p. 70). The title of the next section is, "Confirmation of the Tradition concerning the Antiquity of the Writings of the New Testament; or Proofs of their Genuineness." These proofs are derived from their correspondence with the history of the times, and with the character and circumstances of those to whom they are ascribed. And the next section (p. 89) begins with the declaration, that "as the earliest age of Christianity handed down genuine writings to succeeding Christians, so they, during the subsequent period, have preserved these writings uncorrupted."

All this being asserted, it may seem, at first glance, as if it were useless to pursue the argument. One can prove nothing more than what his opponent, if he so regard him, has already contended for. But the genuineness of the Gospels is a subject of too serious importance for its proof to be suffered to rest on the self-contradictions of a German theologian.

Indeed, Eichhorn's assertions of the genuineness of the Gospels have made no impression on the theologians of his country, or on those who have derived their opinions from them. De Wette (in the second edition of his Commentary on the Gospels, published in 1839) says,

* See before, p. 53.

that in regard to "the historical criticism of the Gospels" (the meaning of which indefinite words we may deduce from their connection as being "the inquiry how far the history in the Gospels is true or false"), "if it be not too early for the present state of theology, it is too early for the state of my own views and convictions, to solve the whole problem of the criticism of the evangelical history; and I would not fall into the error, committed by most of the opposers of Dr. Strauss, of putting forward over-hasty and immature thoughts." The inquiry into the truth of the evangelic history is primarily connected, he says, with the results of criticism concerning the sources of this history, that is, with the inquiry into the origin and genuineness of the Gospels. But in respect to the first three Gospels, he has attained only to what he calls the *negative* conclusion, that they are founded on tradition; and with regard to the Gospel of John he has come to no confident decision. "It would be tolerably easy," he says, "to solve critically the problem of the Gospel-history, if the apostolical genuineness and credibility of that Gospel might be presupposed." This was done, he says, by the most free-minded critics before Strauss. But De Wette finds himself unable to answer satisfactorily the objections of Strauss and Weisse; he finds no sure foothold on the Gospel of John; and "I must, therefore," he says, "reserve many things which depend on the question of its genuineness till I am better informed hereafter." *

This appears in a work printed when the author was about sixty years old, after he had spent a great part of his life in the exposition of his opinions concerning religion and Christianity. It is part of a dissertation which concludes a commentary on the Gospels. If one is struck by the modesty of the writer in being unwilling at his age to put forward over-hasty and immature opinions respecting their credibility, yet, on the other hand, there may seem some want of consideration in undertaking to expound the character of our religion without any fixed opinions concerning the truth or falsehood of its history.

His younger contemporary, Strauss, to whom De Wette refers, has settled convictions on the subject. He is satisfied that the Gospels are neither genuine nor credible. He holds, at the same time, determinately, a correct opinion respecting the importance of the question of their genuineness. "Certainly," he says, "it would be of decisive weight to establish the credibility of the Bible-history, were it proved

* Exegetische Handbuch in d. N. T. Vol. i. P. iii. pp. 222, 223.

that it was written by eyewitnesses, or even by contemporaries in the neighbourhood of the events." *

But such, according to him, was not the case; and he proceeds to discuss the historical evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels, in a dissertation occupying about ten pages (pp. 73-84) of the more than fifteen hundred which compose his work. Its depth is not disproportioned to its length; for nothing more superficial was ever put forward by a writer of any note as the examination of an important subject. But he considers it unnecessary to attend to the historical evidence, except so far as to show, that it does not interfere with the main purpose of his book, which is to prove directly from the contents of the Gospels that they are neither credible nor genuine.

In pursuing this purpose, his argument rests on two fundamental propositions. One of these he states explicitly, the other he does not. The first is, that "the chain of finite causes is indissoluble, and that a miracle is impossible." † As the whole history recorded in the Gospels is miraculous in its essential character, and full of accounts of particular miracles, this principle alone is sufficient to determine the thoroughly fabulous character of those writings. But Strauss, not content with this clear demonstration, has filled a great part of his work with criticisms founded on his second principle, which may be thus explained: If two or more books purport to be written by individuals who were personally, or by direct information, well acquainted with a series of transactions, and if, in professing to relate the same events, the authors of those books differ irreconcilably in some one or more of the circumstances attending them, we may conclude that the events never occurred, that the narratives are fabulous (or "mythical"), and the books not genuine. He labors, therefore, to make it apparent that there are such contradictions in the Gospels.

If a critic begin with putting out of sight the fact, that probably there were never two original histories of any considerable length, concerning the same series of events, which accorded with each other in all their details, his success in discovering objections to the credibility of books subjected to his examination may be proportioned to the rashness of his judgment, to the narrowness of his views, and to his deficiency in the learning and sagacity which might enable him to discern the explanation of what he does not at once understand, to perceive

* Leben Jesu, i. e. Life of Jesus. 3rd Ed. Vol. i. p. 73.

† Ibid. i. 86. Comp. pp. 94-98, 116.

that seeming are often not real, or not important, difficulties, and to come to the conviction, that a narrative may be essentially true in which there are errors. Excepting the objections of Strauss to everything miraculous in the history of our Lord, the striking out of which, as he himself recognizes, leaves but a scanty and uncertain basis of true history, the criticisms in his work are directed rather against the doctrine that the Gospels were written by miraculous inspiration, than against their credibility. But his volumes are not without their value. They present a collection, from various authors, of difficulties in the history contained in the Gospels, to which their expositor should particularly direct his attention, and by the examination of which new light may be thrown on their narrative.

When Strauss's book appeared, German theology was becoming sear and yellow. But, though infidelity was predominant, the new form of infidelity brought forward by him caused a shaking among the dry branches, and reviews, pamphlets and books were showered upon him, like autumnal leaves. I do not know whether in any of these answers there is a solid confutation of his two fundamental principles.

In what precedes in this note, I have brought together statements which stood apart in the original edition of this volume, and connected them with some additional remarks. Upon resuming in the text the argument for the genuineness of the Gospels, we shall—except in relation to the proof afforded by Justin Martyr—have little occasion or opportunity to advert to the errors, or opposite opinions, of other writers. The facts to be stated in evidence are undisputed; and of the reasoning upon those facts every one can judge for himself.

But in order fully to disembarrass the subject on which we are about to enter from all objections except those made to the testimony of Justin, there are two topics which it may be well to take notice of here; especially as the argument respecting them lies within a narrow compass, and in treating the first of them we must recur to the conclusion which it has been my purpose to establish in the preceding part of this work.

The first is the testimony of Papias to the authorship of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. I have already adverted to it,* and shall pro-

* See before pp. 37, 38.

duce it at length hereafter. Schleiermacher,* Strauss and others have attempted to invalidate it.

As there is no question that Papias, *in the first quarter of the second century*, ascribed certain books concerning the history of Christ to Matthew and Mark, the only ground to be taken by those who would reject his testimony, and that, consequently, which has been taken, is to contend that they were not the same books as the Gospels ascribed to Matthew and Mark *in the last quarter of that century*.

But, as I have said, the argument on this subject lies within a narrow compass. The proposition asserted must involve one of two conjectures. One supposition may be, that the books mentioned by Papias as the works of Matthew and Mark served respectively as the bases of the Gospels shortly after ascribed to them, and were converted into those Gospels by a gradual change. But, if the reasoning in the preceding part of this work be valid, it has been made evident, that the Gospels were not formed by any such process, but remain the same works as they were originally composed.

The other supposition may be, that the Gospels ascribed to Matthew and Mark were originally different books from those spoken of by Papias; that they were spurious books (for if it be admitted that they were genuine, all discussion is at an end); but that, in the interval between the first and last quarter of the second century, they were quietly received throughout the Christian community, displacing the genuine works of Matthew and Mark, and causing them to be utterly neglected and forgotten. It is impossible to offer any confutation of this supposition which may render it more incredible than it appears at first view.

It has also been common to slight the testimony of Papias, on the ground that Eusebius says that he was a man of very small mind. Referring to this, Schleiermacher says, "I have always been sorry when I have found this testimony dealt with in a certain disparaging manner;"—though he himself endeavours to set it aside by the supposition, that Papias spoke of other books than the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. The opinion of Eusebius may have been correct; but those who have adduced it as having any bearing on the case in hand must have neglected to attend to the fact, that weakness of intellect does not enable one to speak of books as existing which are not in existence.

* In a dissertation "Upon the Testimony of Papias concerning our first two Gospels," first published (in 1832) in the journal entitled "Theologische Studien und Kritiken," and reprinted in the second volume of his Works.

The other topic to which I have referred is the attestation which Luke himself furnishes to the genuineness of his Gospel in the beginning of his Acts of the Apostles.

That the author of the Acts of the Apostles was the author of the Gospel is admitted. But it is contended that he was not Luke, the companion of St. Paul.

That he was the companion of the Apostle cannot, it is said, be proved from the frequent use of the pronoun "we" in the Acts of the Apostles. That book, it is said, is a compilation, and its author, wherever this pronoun occurs, made use of a narrative written by Timothy, and retained the pronoun as he found it in that document. There is a difficulty in this solution arising from the first five verses of the twentieth chapter of the Acts, where Timothy appears to be separated from those who are designated by the pronoun "we." But this difficulty is easily got over. The circumstance, that the author of the Acts did retain the pronoun "we," in using the document of Timothy, presents another difficulty. Ulrich, the most elaborate defender of the hypothesis in question,* acknowledges that no solution of it fully satisfies him; but he considers it "a difficulty of subordinate importance," "a problem which may be left for the exercise of ingenuity."

The positive arguments brought in proof of this supposition I might endeavour to state and answer, if I could persuade myself that I should have any intelligent reader who would not regard me as wasting his time and my own.

"It is difficult," says Strauss,† "to reconcile many of the narratives concerning Paul in the Acts of the Apostles, some vacillating, some marvellous, and others contradictory to what is found in the genuine Epistles of that Apostle, with the supposition that the author of the book was his companion." But Strauss, not insisting upon the supposition, that the book was not written by a companion of Paul, suggests that, if it were so, the author wrote both the Acts and his Gospel when he was no longer under the influence of the Apostle, and readily received the marvels with which tradition furnished him.

De Wette says, that it is with him "a settled conviction that the Gospel"—that is, the Gospel of Luke, or the Gospel ascribed to Luke—

* In two dissertations in the "Theologische Studien und Kritiken;" in No. 2, for 1837, and No. 4, for 1840.

† Leben Jesu, i. 79, 80.

"was written after the destruction of Jerusalem."* I will give at length all the arguments which he adduces for this conviction.† "This Gospel," he says, "was composed at a pretty late period; for it supposes the existence of many preceding works on the history of Christ (ch. i. 1.), and the destruction of Jerusalem." His proof that it supposes that the latter event had taken place is this: "Luke," in the prophecy contained in his twenty-first chapter, "disconnects the coming of Christ from the destruction of Jerusalem, and indicates this more distinctly than Matthew." In making the first remark, he may seem to have overlooked the twenty-seventh verse of the chapter referred to: *Then will they see the Son of Man coming in a cloud with power and great glory.* But De Wette has not only an explanation for this passage (p. 228 of his Commentary on Matthew); he has still another argument: "Luke also assigns an earlier time to the persecution of the Christians than Matthew."

Matthew, after giving the prediction of our Lord respecting the wars and rumours of wars which were coming, represents him as saying (ch. xxiv. 9): "*Then*,"—meaning not "afterwards," but "during that time"—"will they deliver you up to affliction, and put you to death." After a similar prediction of wars and commotions in Luke, follow the words (ch. xxi. 12): "But *before* all these things they will lay hands on you and persecute you." This is an example of the discrepancies which have been sought out in the Gospels. But its bearing on the question when Luke wrote his Gospel is not apparent.

We may be led, therefore, to turn for explanation to De Wette's Commentary‡ on the Gospels; and there, on the passage in Luke, is the following note:—"That Luke, in contradiction to Matthew, assigns an earlier date for the persecutions of the Christians, namely, *before* those wars and tumults, betrays the fact that, at the time when he wrote, those, indeed, but not these, had taken place." This is all which he remarks. The reference of "those" and "these" in the last clause is equally ambiguous in the original, as in a translation. But whichever reference may be adopted, it is obvious that the passage is equally without coherent meaning, upon the supposition that Luke wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem. Nor can I conjecture what meaning the writer thought himself to be expressing, or what argument he supposed

* Kurze Erklärung der Apostelgeschichte, i. e. Brief Exposition of the Acts of the Apostles, p. 6. 2nd Ed.

† In his Introduction to the N. T. (in German), p. 184. 2nd Ed.

‡ Kurze Erklärung d. Evv. d. Lucas u. Marcus.

himself to have found to prove that Luke's Gospel was written after the destruction of Jerusalem.

One cannot help feeling some reluctance to reporting such opinions and arguments as I have remarked upon in this note, a reluctance arising partly from their intrinsic character, and partly from an apprehension that there may be readers who will doubt whether they are reported correctly. Should such a doubt arise, it may be removed by a wider acquaintance with a large class of German theologians and critics, who speculate and reason in a similar nanner.

The books I have quoted will not be read after the present generation has passed away; and the opinions I have observed upon will soon cease to attract notice, except from the student of the history of theology. Such being the case, the present note may appear an unnecessary digression. But it seemed due to Eichhorn to state the fact, that he was a defender of the genuineness of the Gospels; and to show that he had very fully contradicted his own hypothesis, that they were introduced into common use by the authority of the Church about the end of the second century. It was desirable, likewise, before entering on the proof that the Gospels have been ascribed to their true authors, to give some account of the exceptions which have been taken to it, especially as it could be done in so few words. And this note, in connection with the First Part of this work, may afford a general view of the present state of the whole controversy against the genuineness of the Gospels.—*Note to 2nd Edition*, 1847.

PART II.

DIRECT HISTORICAL EVIDENCE, THAT THE GOSPELS HAVE BEEN ASCRIBED TO THEIR TRUE AUTHORS.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

EVIDENCE FROM THE GENERAL RECEPTION OF THE GOSPELS AS GENUINE AMONG CHRISTIANS DURING THE LAST QUARTER OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

HAVING shown that the Gospels have been transmitted to us as they were first written, I shall, in what follows, adduce evidence of the fact, that they have been ascribed to their true authors.

The proof which may be first stated is, that they were regarded with the highest reverence, as genuine and sacred books, by the great body of Christians during the last quarter of the second century.

There is little or no dispute about the truth of this proposition, and I might, perhaps, assume it as established, and proceed to reason upon it; but it may be better to bring forward some of the evidence on which it rests. I have had occasion already to quote, or allude to, a part of it;* and shall endeavour, as far as possible, to avoid repetition. The passages before given must be viewed in connection with those here alleged.

One of the earliest Christian writers, whose works have come down to us, is Irenæus. The exact time of his birth

* See before, pp. 37-42.

is uncertain; but he was born in the first half of the second century, and but just survived its close. Let us see, then, what may be inferred from his writings concerning the common belief of Christians during his lifetime. Besides a few fragments of other writings, there is only one of his works which remains to us, his Treatise Against Heretics, a name which, in his time, was limited in its application to the different sects of Gnostics, and the Ebionites. It was in the name of the great body of catholic believers, and in defence of their opinions, that Irenæus wrote. The first sentence of the following passage has been already quoted.

"We," says Irenæus, "have not received the knowledge of the way of our salvation by any others than those through whom the Gospel has come down to us; which Gospel they first preached, and afterwards, by the will of God, transmitted to us in writing, that it might be the foundation and pillar of our faith."—"For after our Lord had risen from the dead, and they [the Apostles] were clothed with the power of the Holy Spirit descending upon them from on high, were filled with all gifts, and possessed perfect knowledge, they went forth to the ends of the earth, spreading the glad tidings of those blessings which God has conferred upon us, and announcing peace from heaven to men; having all, and every one alike, the Gospel of God. Matthew among the Hebrews published a Gospel in their own language; while Peter and Paul were preaching the Gospel at Rome, and founding a church there. And after their departure [death], Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, himself delivered to us in writing what Peter had preached; and Luke, the companion of Paul, recorded the Gospel preached by him. Afterwards John, the disciple of the Lord, who leaned upon his breast, likewise published a Gospel, while he dwelt at Ephesus in Asia. And all these have taught us, that there is one God, the maker of heaven and earth, announced by the Law and the Prophets, and one Christ, the Son of God. And he who does not assent to them despises indeed those who knew the

mind of the Lord; but he despises also Christ himself, the Lord, and he despises likewise the Father, and is self-condemned, resisting and opposing his own salvation; and this all heretics do." *

In this passage, it may be observed that Irenæus, in defending the Christian doctrine, rests it upon the authority of the Gospels; that he even does this without mentioning the other books of the New Testament; that he considers the former as having been composed, that they might be the foundation and pillar of the faith of Christians; and that he assigns them, without doubt or hesitation, to the authors by whom we believe them to have been written. The following passage is to the same effect.

"Nor can there be more or fewer Gospels than these. For as there are four regions of the world in which we live, and four cardinal winds, and the Church is spread over all the earth, and the Gospel is the pillar and support of the Church, and the breath of life; in like manner is it fit that it should have four pillars, breathing on all sides incorruption, and refreshing mankind. Whence it is manifest, that the Logos, the former of all things, who sits upon the cherubim, and holds together all things, having appeared to men, has given us a Gospel, fourfold in its form, but held together by one spirit."—"The Gospel according to John declares his princely, complete,† and glorious generation from the Father, saying, 'In the beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was with God, and the Logos was God; all things were made by him, and without him was nothing made.' "—"The Gospel according to Luke, being of a priestly character, begins with Zacharias, the priest, offering incense to God."—"Matthew proclaims his human generation, saying, 'The genealogy of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the Son of Abraham.' "—"Mark begins with the prophetic Spirit, which came down

* Contra Hæres. Lib. iii. c. 1. pp. 173, 174.

† *Efficabilem*;—the meaning of this word, as applied to generation, is explained, Lib. ii. c. 17. § 2. p. 138, where see also Massuet's note.

from above to men, saying, 'The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. As it is written in Isaiah the prophet.'" *

Here again the same remarks may be made as before. The Gospels are expressly assigned to the authors to whom we ascribe them; and they are spoken of as the four pillars of the Church, breathing on all sides incorruption, and refreshing mankind. The figure has been ridiculed; but the meaning is sufficiently clear, and the want of metaphorical elegance does not affect the present argument." †

I pass over other passages, to be found in Lardner, in which Irenæus speaks of the Gospels, referring them to their authors, and remarking generally upon their character and contents. The passages cited by him from the Gospels, many of which are cited more than once, may be found collected in Massuet's edition of his works. They fill about eleven closely-printed folio columns; while the passages cited from all the Old Testament fill about fifteen such columns. He appeals to the Gospels continually; and quotes them as undoubted authority for the faith of the great body of Christians, with the same confidence which might be felt by any writer of the present day. They were books in general circulation and commonly studied. The Gnostics, he informs us, delighted in curious and difficult questions, and made particular use of the parables and obscurer parts of Scripture to defend their errors. "But a man of sound and safe understanding," he says, "considerate, and a lover of truth, will give his earnest attention to those things which God has put in the power of man, and enabled him to understand; he will make proficiency in their study, through daily exercise rendering the acquisition of knowledge easy. The things which I speak of are those which are obvious to our view,

* Contra Hæres. Lib. iii. c. 11. § 8. pp. 190, 191.

† It may be observed, however, that Irenæus is, in general, not deficient in propriety or force of expression. His style is perspicuous, and his figures are sometimes apposite and striking. The phraseology of the old Latin translation, in which alone the greater part of his work is extant, is literal and barbarous; but the character of the original appears through it.

and whatever are clearly and without ambiguity, in express words, declared in the divine Scriptures." * As respects the unity and works of God, "All the Scriptures," he says, "both Prophecies and Gospels, are clear, and without ambiguity, and may be heard in like manner by all, though all do not believe." †

Such is the information afforded by Irenæus concerning the general reception of the Gospels in his time. He had spent some portion of the earlier part of his life in Asia; but was, at the time when he wrote, Bishop of Lyons, in Gaul.

From Gaul we will return to Asia. Theophilus, whom I shall next quote, was Bishop of Antioch, before the year 170, and died before the end of the second century. Of his writings, we have remaining only one work, containing an account and defence of Christianity, addressed to Autolycus, a heathen. After some mention of the Jewish Law and Prophets, he has this passage:—"Concerning the righteousness of which the Law speaks, the like things are to be found also in the Prophets and Gospels; because they all spoke by the inspiration of one spirit of God." ‡ The estimation in which the Gospels were held by Christians appears as well in the passage just quoted, as in the following. "These things," says Theophilus, "the Holy Scriptures teach us, and all who were moved by the Spirit; among whom John says, 'In the beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was with God.'" § Having quoted a passage from the Old Testament (Proverbs iv. 25, 26), which he interprets as a precept of chastity, he says, "But the Evangelic voice teaches purity yet more imperatively," and then quotes Matthew v. 28 and 32, in proof of his assertion. || A little after he quotes several precepts from the Gospel of Matthew and from St. Paul, introducing those taken from Matthew with the expression, "The Gospel says." ¶

* Lib. ii. c. 27. § 1. p. 155. † Ibid. § 2. ‡ Lib. iii. § 12.
§ Lib. ii. § 22. || Lib. iii. § 13. ¶ Ibid. § 14.

From Antioch we pass to Carthage. Here Tertullian was born, and here he appears principally to have resided. The dates of his birth and death are both uncertain; but he became distinguished as a writer about the close of the second century. No evidence can be more full and satisfactory, than that which he affords of the general reception of the Gospels, and of their authority as the foundation of the Christian faith. He ascribes them without hesitation to the authors by whom we believe them to have been written; and he rests the proof of their genuineness upon unbroken tradition in the churches founded by the Apostles. There is not a chapter in the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John, from which he does not quote; and from most of them his quotations are numerous. "We lay it down," says Tertullian, "in the first place, that the Evangelic Document* had for its authors Apostles, to whom this office of promulgating the Gospel was assigned by our Lord himself. And if some of them were companions of Apostles, yet they did not stand alone, but were connected with and guided by Apostles." "Among the Apostles, John and Matthew form the faith within us. Among the companions of the Apostles, Luke and Mark renovate it." † The Gospels are always appealed to by him as decisive authority for the faith of Christians. The Evangelists and Apostles are placed by him, as they are by Irenæus and Theophilus, in the same rank with the Jewish Prophets. In his time, the Scriptures, among which the Gospels held the first place, were publicly read, as at the present day, in the assemblies of Christians. "We come together," he says, "to bring to mind the divine Scriptures; for the purpose of warning or admonition, if the state of the times require it. Certainly, we nourish our faith, raise our hopes, and confirm our trust, by the sacred words."‡ The

* *Evangelicum instrumentum*;—"instrumentum" is here used, as it is often by Tertullian, in a metaphorical sense, derived from its technical meaning, as signifying a legal instrument which may be produced in evidence.

† Advers. Marcionem. Lib. iv. § 2. p. 414.

‡ Apologet. § 39. p. 31.

Christian Scriptures were accessible to all. In one of his writings, a defence of Christians addressed to heathens, he says:—"Examine the words of God, our literature, which we are far from concealing, and which many accidents throw in the way of those who are not of our number."* He then quotes two passages from these Scriptures, one from the Gospels, and another from the Epistles, in evidence of what Christians believed to be their duty, in regard to civil government.

In defending the genuine Gospel of Luke against the mutilated gospel used by Marcion, Tertullian has the following passage, a part of which has been already quoted. "To give the sum of all, if it be certain, that *that* is most genuine which is most ancient, that most ancient which has been from the beginning, and that from the beginning which was from the Apostles; so it is equally certain, that *that* was delivered by the Apostles which has been held sacred in the churches of the Apostles." He then enumerates various churches founded by Apostles, which were still flourishing, and proceeds:—"I affirm, then, that in those churches, and not in those only which were founded by Apostles, but in all which have fellowship with them, that Gospel of Luke which we so steadfastly defend has been received from its first publication." "The same authority," he adds, "of the apostolic churches will support the other Gospels, which, in like manner, we have from them, conformably to their copies."†

We will pass from Carthage to Alexandria, the residence of Clement. Here was a celebrated school for the instruction of Christians, founded, probably, early in the second century; of which Clement was, in his time, the principal master. He was eminent during the latter part of the second, and the beginning of the third, century.

In the evidence which Clement affords of the general re-

* Apologet. § 31. p. 27.

† Advers. Marcionem. Lib. iv. § 5. pp. 415, 416.

ception of the Gospels, as sacred books, there is nothing of a peculiar character. It is similar to that already adduced from Irenæus and Tertullian. His very numerous quotations from the Gospels in his extant works are, at the present day, an important means of settling their true text. In one passage, he proposes, after showing that "the Scriptures which we [Christians] have believed are confirmed by the authority of the Omnipotent," "to evince from them, in opposition to all heretics, that there is one God and Almighty Lord, clearly proclaimed by the Law and the Prophets, and together with them by the blessed Gospel." * This affords a specimen of the manner in which the Gospels are appealed to by him. In another place, in reasoning against certain heretics, he notices a saying ascribed to Christ, quoted by them in support of their opinions from an apocryphal book, called "The Gospel according to the Egyptians;" and commences his answer with this remark:—"In the first place, we have not that saying in the four Gospels which have been handed down to us." † Here, in a few words, he expresses his sense of the exclusive authority of the Gospels as histories of our Saviour; and the fact of their reception before his time. The Gospels had been *handed down* to the Christians of his age, that is, the Christians who lived about the end of the second century. By Clement was preserved, as has been before stated, a tradition received from ancient presbyters concerning the order in which they were written. According to this tradition, "The Gospels containing the genealogies were written first: The following providence gave occasion to that of Mark. While Peter was publicly preaching the word at Rome, and through the power of the Spirit making known the Gospel, his hearers, who were numerous, exhorted Mark, upon the ground of his having accompanied him for a long time, and having his discourses in memory, to write down what he had spoken; and Mark, composing his Gospel, delivered it to those

* Stromat. Lib. iv. § 1. p. 564.
† Ibid. Lib. iii. § 13. p. 553.

who made the request. Peter, knowing this, was not earnest either to forbid or to encourage it. In the last place, John, observing that the things obvious to the senses had been clearly set forth in those Gospels, being urged by his friends, and divinely moved by the Spirit, composed a spiritual Gospel." *

In the second century, but how long before its close cannot be determined, Celsus wrote against Christianity. About the middle of the third century his work was answered by Origen, who speaks of him as long since dead; † and who evidently was unable confidently to identify him with any known individual. Origen seems to have observed upon every important particular contained in it, and has given many extracts from it. It appears from these extracts, that Christians, in the time of Celsus, had histories of our Saviour, which they believed to have been written by his disciples; and the genuineness of which was not controverted by him. Without mentioning their authors by name, he frequently quotes and refers to them. It has been observed with truth, that an abridgment of the history of Jesus, corresponding to that in the Gospels, may be found in the remains of his work. He discusses the account of the miraculous birth of Christ, remarking various particulars related in the first two chapters of Matthew's Gospel. He refers to the appearance and voice from heaven at our Lord's baptism. He alludes to the account of his temptation. He says that he collected "ten or eleven publicans and sailors," with whom he travelled about "procuring a shameful and beggarly subsistence." He calls Christ himself a carpenter.‡ He speaks of his miracles, of his having cured the lame and blind, fed a multitude with a few loaves, and raised the dead; and argues upon the supposition that these facts really took place. He says, it was a

* Apud Euseb. H. E. Lib. vi. c. 14. Comp. Lib. ii. c. 15.
† Cont. Cels. Præfat. § 4. Opp. i. 317.
‡ Mark vi. 3.

fiction of his disciples, that Jesus foreknew, and foretold, whatever should befall him. He refers to the prediction of our Saviour, that deceivers should come in his name. He animadverts upon various passages in our Lord's discourses; upon his direction to his first disciples to exercise a peculiar trust in the providence of God, *to observe the lilies and the ravens;** upon his precept, *If any man strike thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also;* upon his saying, *It is impossible to serve two masters*; and upon his declaration, *It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God.* He refers to the incredulity with which he was heard, and to his denunciations against the Pharisees. He speaks of his having been betrayed by one disciple, and denied by another; of his prayer, *Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me;* of the soldiers who derided him, of the purple robe, the crown of thorns, and the reed which was put into his hand; of the vinegar mixed with bitter drugs, offered him at his crucifixion; of his saying, *I thirst;* of the loud cry which he uttered just before expiring; of the earthquake and darkness which accompanied his death; of his rising from the dead; of the angel who removed the stone at the door of the sepulchre; of his appearing, not to his enemies, but to a distracted woman (Mary Magdalene), and "others engaged with him in the same magical arts;" and of his exhibiting his hands as they had been wounded on the cross, which last circumstance is mentioned by St. John alone.†

In one passage, Celsus says that those who had given genealogies of Jesus had had the confidence to derive his descent from the first man, and from the Jewish kings; referring to the genealogies found in the first two chapters of Matthew and in Luke. In another passage, he appears to refer at once to all our four Gospels; for he observes, that "some relate that one and some that two angels descended to his sepulchre, to announce to the women that Jesus was

* Luke xii. 24, 27. † John xx. 27.

risen." Matthew and Mark speak of but one angel; Luke and John mention two.

The numerous objections of Celsus to the accounts received by Christians respecting our Saviour are always made to accounts found in the Gospels. After remarking upon several passages, he says:—"These things are from your own books, for we need no other testimony. Thus you fall by your own hands." He nowhere implies the existence of any narrative respecting Christ, as believed by Christians, which is not related by the Evangelists.*

That the histories of Christ referred to by Celsus were our present Gospels, appears from the general correspondence of their contents; from the particular coincidences which have been pointed out; from their identity with the Gospels being constantly implied by Origen, without the appearance of his entertaining any doubt upon the subject; from their being attacked by Celsus as the acknowledged records of the religion, and from the impossibility that in his time there should have existed a set of books bearing this character, which have been forgotten and superseded by another set.

But in attacking these books, that is, our present Gospels, Celsus evidently considered himself to be undermining the foundations of Christianity; to be attacking books regarded by Christians as of the highest authority,—as the authentic records of the history of their master, composed or sanctioned by his immediate disciples. We have, then, the evidence of an enemy of our religion, that the Gospels were thus regarded by the Christians of his age.

Origen was born about the year 185, and died about the year 254. There was no Christian writer whose authority was so high in his own time, and in the period immediately following. His works, only a small portion of which remains

* For the references to the passages quoted above, see Lardner's Ancient Heathen Testimonies, Ch. xviii. Works (4to Ed.), iv. 113, seqq.

in their original language, the Greek, were very numerous. He was eminent for his talents, and for the extent of his learning. Nor was he less distinguished for his piety, his integrity, and his scrupulous conscientiousness. He was also, as I have before observed, a careful critic of the text of the Septuagint and of the New Testament. In those of his works which are still extant in the original, the Gospels are quoted so frequently, that, supposing all other copies of them to be lost, those of Matthew, Luke and John might be restored almost entire from his quotations alone, if we had a clue by which to arrange them. In speaking of the history of their composition, he professes to give what he had "learnt by tradition concerning the four Gospels, which alone are received without controversy by the church of God under heaven." He says:—"The Gospel of Matthew, who, from being a tax-gatherer, became an Apostle of Christ, was the first written. It was composed in Hebrew; and published for the use of Jewish believers. Mark next wrote his Gospel conformably to the accounts which he had received from Peter. Hence, Peter, in his Catholic Epistle, acknowledges him as his son, saying, *The sister church in Babylon salutes you; also my son Mark.* The Gospel of Luke, that which is praised by St. Paul, was the third, and was composed for gentile believers. Last of all followed that of John."* Elsewhere Origen writes thus:—"We may then be bold to say, that the Gospel† is the prime fruit of all the Scriptures." "Of the Scriptures which are in common use, and which are believed to be divine by all the churches of God, one would not err in calling the Law of Moses the first fruit, and the Gospel the prime fruit."‡

* Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. vi. c. 25.

† By the Gospel here, as elsewhere, is to be understood the Gospel-history, or the four Gospels.

‡ Comment. in Joan. Tom. i. § 4. Opp. iv. p. 4. Conformably to Origen's meaning, and to the proper sense of the terms, I have rendered *πρωτογέννημα, first fruit*, and *ἀπαρχή, prime fruit*. These words were borrowed by him from the Septuagint, and denote two different kinds of oblations, both of which in our Common Version are indiscriminately called "first fruits." By *πρωτογέννημα*,

"The Gospels are, as it were, the elements of the faith of the Church, of which elements the whole world that is reconciled to God by Christ consists."* I have before had occasion to quote a passage, in which Origen speaks of the Scriptures as "books in the most common use."†

Origen, as we have seen, speaks of the Gospels as "received without controversy," and as "believed by all the churches of God." If these expressions were to be interpreted, with the narrowest limitation, as relating only to the state of things at the precise time when he wrote, we might still infer that the Gospels had been received as of equal authority in the last quarter of the second century; since nothing had occurred during the short intervening period to produce a unanimity which did not then exist. If there had been any dissension or difference of opinion then, it is impossible that unanimity should have been afterwards produced without some controversy or discussion, without some trace remaining of the change from one state of opinion to another; but nothing of this sort appears. Origen, however, in the expressions which he uses, does not refer to his own time alone. His language is meant to include all Christians from the first promulgation of the Gospels. It appears from the writings of the fathers, generally, that the books which Christians received as sacred books of the highest authority‡ were, as they believed, distinguished from all others pretending to the same character, by the circumstance, that they had been unanimously so

first fruit, is meant that first produced, of which an offering was made on the day after the Passover. (Leviticus xxiii. 10-14.) By ἀπαρχή, *prime fruit*, is meant the best of the harvest, which was to be set aside for the priests, and from which an offering was to be made on the day of Pentecost, and, perhaps, at the Feast of Tabernacles. (Leviticus xxiii. 15-20. Numbers xviii. 12, 13. Deuteronomy xviii. 4.) "We must understand," says Origen, "that the *prime fruit* and the *first fruit* are not the same. For the *prime fruit* was offered after the harvest, but the *first fruit* before."

* Comment. in Joan. Tom. i. § 6. p. 5.

† See before, p. 32.

‡ Τὰ ὁμολογούμενα.

received, from the apostolic age through every successive generation of catholic Christians.

In estimating the weight of evidence which has thus far been adduced for the genuineness of the Gospels, we must keep in mind, what has not always been sufficiently attended to, that it is not the testimony of certain individual writers alone on which we rely, important as their testimony might be. These writers speak for a whole community, every member of which had the strongest reasons for ascertaining the correctness of his faith respecting the authenticity, and, consequently, the genuineness, of the Gospels. We quote the Christian fathers, not chiefly to prove their individual belief, but in evidence of the belief of the community to which they belonged. It is not, therefore, the simple testimony of Irenæus, and Theophilus, and Tertullian, and Clement, and Origen, which we bring forward; it is the testimony of thousands and tens of thousands of believers, many of whom were as well informed as they were on this particular subject, and as capable of making a right judgment. All these believers were equally ready with the writers who have been quoted, to affirm the authority and genuineness of the Gospels. The most distinguished Christians of the age, men held in high esteem by their contemporaries and successors, assert that the Gospels were received as genuine throughout the community of which they were members, and for which they were writing. That the assertion was made by such men, under such circumstances, is sufficient evidence of its truth. But the proof of the general reception of the Gospels does not rest upon their assertions only, though these cannot be doubted. It is necessarily implied in their statements and reasonings respecting their religion. It is impossible that they should have so abundantly quoted the Gospels, as conclusive authority for their own faith and that of their fellow-Christians, if these books had not been regarded by Christians as conclusive authority. We cannot infer more confidently from the ser-

mons of Tillotson and Clarke the estimation in which the Gospels were held in their day, than we may infer from the writers before mentioned, that they were held in similar estimation during the period when they lived.

The testimony to the genuineness of the Gospels is, therefore, distinct in its character from that which may be adduced to prove the genuineness of ancient profane writings. As testimony to this, we are able, perhaps, to collect from different authors a few passages, in which the writing in question is quoted as the work of the individual to whom it is ascribed; or in which it is expressly affirmed that he composed such a work. We may even find it mentioned as his work in some other composition, ascribed to the same individual; but this alone does not affect the nature of the evidence; since the genuineness of the last-mentioned writing remains to be proved, and, as far as testimony is concerned, can be proved only by the testimony of individual writers. But these writers do not speak in the name and with the sanction of a whole community, every member of which was deeply and personally concerned in the question, whether the book were genuine or not. They give their testimony simply as individuals; and they were, for the most part, individuals who had no interest in ascertaining the truth, and, perhaps, little curiosity about it. We have commonly no ground for supposing that any circumstance had led them to a scrupulous examination of the claims of the work. We have no certainty that its genuineness was not doubted by others, equally well informed with the authors whom we quote. But such is not the character of the historical evidence produced for the genuineness of the Gospels. The whole community of Christians is brought to testify their belief respecting a subject which deeply interested them; and about which, as we shall now proceed to observe, they were in circumstances to be fully informed.

That Christians during the latter part of the second century had sufficient means of determining whether the Gospels were

genuine or not, may appear from the consideration, that they must have been acquainted with the history of the promulgation of these books. If the Gospels were the works of those to whom they are ascribed, they had been received as such by the contemporaries of the Evangelists;—by Apostles, and the companions and disciples of Apostles. They had been handed down by them to succeeding Christians, as the authentic histories of their master. There had been a clear, unbroken, and, therefore, incontrovertible acknowledgment of their genuineness, during the period of somewhat more than a century which had elapsed between the time when the earliest of them was written, and the time to which we have clearly traced back their general reception. Such must have been the state of the case upon the supposition of their genuineness; but their history, whatever it were, must have been very different, if they were not genuine. In the latter case, they had not been known as the works of their pretended authors by the contemporaries of those to whom they were afterwards ascribed. They had not, consequently, been handed down from the first to the second generation of Christians as the works of those individuals. But during the latter part of the second century, the only satisfactory evidence of their genuineness, that which the case necessarily demanded, must have been their general acknowledgment as genuine since the time of their supposed composition. This is the proof on which the Christian fathers, and, consequently, the proof on which the Christian community, relied; and it is of some importance to observe, that they relied upon this alone, —that the earlier writers of whom we speak, bring forward no other argument in support of their belief. Those facts in the history of the Gospels which must have been of common notoriety were decisive of the question. On the one hand, if the facts necessary to prove their genuineness had really existed, the evidence was incontrovertible; on the other hand, if these facts had not existed, every other pretended proof of the genuineness of the books must have been wholly unsatisfactory.

But the Christians of the latter half of the second century could not be ignorant of the history of the Gospels, or, in other words, of the manner in which they had been regarded by their predecessors. From the statements which have been quoted from different writers, we may fairly take the year 175 as a period when, as shown by direct historical evidence, the Gospels were generally received among Christians. But the old men of this period were born about the end of the first, and the beginning of the second, century. During their youth, they had been contemporary with those who had been contemporary with the Apostles and the other disciples of Christ himself, and who might have received immediate instruction from them. Irenæus informs us, that he had listened to the discourses of Polycarp, who had been a disciple of St. John, and conversant with others who had seen the Lord.* This fact is important as it respects the value of the individual testimony of Irenæus to the genuineness of the Gospels. But it is also to be regarded as a particular exemplification of a general truth, about which there can be no dispute; that it needed but a single link in the chain of succession, to connect the old men of the time of Irenæus with the apostolic age. Such being the case, the Christians of his time could not be ignorant of the manner in which the Gospels had been regarded by their predecessors; and in his time, the belief of the genuineness of the Gospels was established throughout the Christian community.

But Christians at that period, equally with Christians at the present day, must have considered the question of the genuineness of the Gospels as one of great importance. If a book be offered to us as of the highest authority, there is no man who will not ask what claim it has to this authority, and upon what proofs its claim is founded. There was every thing in the circumstances of the early Christians to give

* Irenæi Epist. ad Florin. apud Euseb. H. E. Lib. v. c. 20.—Contra Hæres. Lib. iii. c. 3. § 4. p. 176.

strength to this desire for information and evidence. In embracing a new religion, they must have felt the strongest interest concerning all that related to its character and history. This religion did not then, as it does at the present day, constitute the prevailing faith, nor blend itself with the opinions, belief, sentiments and customs of the age. It stood in opposition to all that was established. Every thing connected with it was rendered prominent and striking by the contrast; and became a subject of earnest attention, an object of attack and defence. The early Christians were separated from other men. Their religion snapt asunder the ties of common intercourse. It called them to a new life; it gave them new sentiments, hopes, and desires, a new character; it demanded of them such a conscientious and steady performance of duty, as had hardly before been conceived of; it subjected them to privations and insults, to uncertainty and danger; it required them to prepare for torments and death. Every day of their lives they were strongly reminded of it, by the duties which it enforced, and the sacrifices which it cost them. Their external circumstances, and their connections with this world, instead of distracting their thoughts from it, as is the common tendency of our relations to the present life, kept it constantly pressed upon their attention. In this state of things, it cannot be supposed that they were indifferent about the genuineness of those records on which their faith rested. They must have felt, at least as strongly as we do, the fundamental importance of the subject. But respecting the history and genuineness of those records, if what has been stated be correct, they could not have been ignorant if they would.

In estimating the value of the testimony of the Christian community during the latter part of the second century, it is well to have a just notion of the intellectual and moral character of those of whom it was composed. They were men who had derived from their religion much more correct and

noble views, respecting the highest objects of the human mind, than were known to their contemporaries. They were raised above the latter in their intellectual character by the whole difference between Christianity and heathenism. We cannot, in common cases, even teach men the system of Christian truth without producing, previously or at the same time, an enlargement of the understanding, adapted to its comprehension. The reception of the doctrines of our religion, in opposition to prevailing error, implies the strong exercise of a correct judgment, which is likely to appear whenever its exercise is demanded. He who holds these doctrines has a body of truths in his mind, with which other opinions may be compared; and rejected or received, according as they are or are not consistent with them. The belief of them, therefore, is adapted to produce a habit of thinking justly. It required more than common force of intellect, as well as strength of moral principle, for the early believers to give up old prejudices and familiar customs, to free themselves from the bonds of ancient authority and popular opinion, and, notwithstanding all the discouragements and sufferings which they had to encounter, to become converts to a new religion so pure and elevated. This was not an effort to be expected from weak or ordinary men. Those who were suffering every variety of hardship and evil, for their belief in God and his providence, in immortality and retribution, could not have been below the common level of their contemporaries in intellect, or virtue, or force of character.

The wisdom of a Christian is compared by Tertullian with the wisdom of Socrates. I do not assent to the justice of all that is said or implied by him; but I must think, that every one who has the power of comprehending and feeling what is excellent in character will perceive, that the writer was not a common man, and that he was not speaking of common men. "This wisdom," he says, "from the school of Heaven denies with more freedom the gods of the world; using no prevarication in ordering a cock to be sacrificed to

Æsculapius; not introducing new demons, but expelling the old; not corrupting youth, but informing them with every virtue of modesty; and therefore receiving the unjust condemnation, not of one city, but of the whole world, in the cause of truth, which is hated the more, the more fully it is exhibited; so that this wisdom does not drink down death from a cup with an air of hilarity, but exhausts every invention of cruelty, on the cross, and in the flames." *

Many similar passages might be produced from the fathers, which at once throw light on the character of these writers, and correspond to what we know must have been the character and condition of Christians. Our religion, at the time to which we refer, was not so corrupted as greatly to weaken its power over the affections and moral principles of those by whom it was held; and there is no doubt that the Christians of the second and third centuries were, as a body, distinguished from the world around them by their moral superiority, and by virtues which scarcely existed beyond the limits of their community. They were not, as some have pretended, an illiterate people. They had among them a full share, to say the least, of the learning and intellectual improvement of the age. From the middle of the second century, they abounded in writers, many of whose works are lost, but many which remain give proof of more than common learning and vigor of intellect. There is a tendency to speak of the Christian fathers with a disrespect wholly unmerited by those of the first ages. During the latter part of the second, and the first half of the third, century, that is, from the time when Irenæus wrote, till that of Origen's death, though the Christians were much fewer in number than the heathens, yet the Christian writers, as a body, have far higher claims to intellectual distinction than the heathen. After the period last mentioned, as Christians increased in number, their intellectual ascendency, of course, became more conspicuous, and, at the same time, less extraordinary.

* De Animâ, § 1. p. 265.

Such was the character of the community, throughout which, in the last quarter of the second century, the Gospels were received as genuine. There was no controversy nor difference of opinion on the subject within its limits. If it had happened, that, instead of three or four, there had been three or four hundred, or three or four thousand, Christian writers of that period extant, who had had occasion to speak of the worth and authority of the Gospels, they would have expressed themselves as those whom I have quoted. We have, then, the testimony of the whole body of catholic Christians to the genuineness of their sacred books; and the character of those Christians, and their means of information, were such as to render their testimony in the highest degree credible.

But, in addition to what has been said, it happens that we are able to produce a striking confirmation of the testimony of the early Christians to the genuineness of the Gospels, by ascertaining, with a high degree of probability, the correctness of this testimony in regard to other books of the Christian Scriptures, from a distinct source of evidence. It is well known that all our present books of the New Testament were not, during the first ages, received as of equal authority. Some were universally acknowledged as belonging to the class of sacred books, while others were not; the genuineness or the value of the latter being doubted or denied by a greater or less portion of the Christian community. The books universally received as genuine and sacred were the following, twenty in number; the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the thirteen Epistles of St. Paul (exclusive of the Epistle to the Hebrews), the first Epistle of John, and the first of Peter. For the genuineness of more than half of this number, we have evidence of a peculiar kind. It is that which is so ably stated by Paley in his Horæ Paulinæ, arising from the undesigned coincidences which appear upon comparing together the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles

of St. Paul.* In respect to the Acts, and most of the Epistles of St. Paul, this species of evidence, in connection with all the other proof, internal and external, which bears upon the same point, is abundantly sufficient to put the question to rest. The genuineness of three of his Epistles, it is true, those to Timothy and Titus, has been attacked by some of the German theologians. But, putting these aside for the present, there are ten Epistles of St. Paul, and the Acts of the Apostles, the genuineness of which we may consider as established. Out of twenty books which the early Christians have transmitted to us as unquestionably genuine, there are eleven which are unquestionably genuine. There are eleven for the genuineness of which we have strong proof of a kind wholly distinct from their testimony. We have a peculiar means of testing the value of our witnesses, in regard to a most important part of their evidence; and by this test their correctness is fully established. But the greater the number of books the genuineness of which is admitted, by whatever means this be proved, the greater the presumption that the testimony of the early Christians may be relied upon; or,

* This statement, so far as it respects the Acts of the Apostles, requires a few words of explanation.

Paley's argument goes directly to prove the genuineness of the Epistles of Paul; for they assume to be his compositions. But it does not go *directly* to prove the genuineness of the Acts of the Apostles; for this book does not assume to be the work of Luke, whose name is not mentioned in it.

But Paley's argument proves the truth of the history contained in this book. And the book, it appears from the frequent use in it of the first person plural, was written by a companion of St. Paul.

Such being the case, the book being authentic, and being written by a companion of St. Paul, there is no supposable mistake, which might have led the early Christians to ascribe it to any other than its true author. And they unanimously ascribed it to Luke. Throughout the whole of antiquity, there is no suggestion of any other author, nor an intimation of doubt that Luke was the author.

In confirmation of this reasoning, if it need confirmation, we find Luke repeatedly mentioned by St. Paul as his companion and friend. He calls him (Coloss. iv. 14), "Luke, the beloved physician." He sends to Philemon (verse 24) a salutation from him as one of his "fellow-laborers." And in his last Epistle to Timothy, written just before his martyrdom, speaking of being deserted by one and left by others, he says (iv. 11), "Luke alone is with me."

in other words, that all the books of the New Testament which they received as unquestionably genuine are in fact genuine.

This proposition being granted, I think that he who will examine the subject may fully satisfy himself that the Epistles to Timothy and Titus were written by St. Paul. I think he will find no reason to doubt, that the two catholic Epistles before mentioned, the first of John and the first of Peter, were the works of the Apostles to whom they are ascribed. With regard to them, there is, to say the least, nothing to detract from the credit due to the authority of the early Christians. But if he should come to the conclusion, that all these books, with those before mentioned, are genuine; that sixteen out of the twenty received by the early Christians are genuine; he can hardly refuse to admit, that there is a very strong presumption in favor of the genuineness of the remaining four; these four, the Gospels, being the most important of all.

We have hitherto considered the subject as if the early Christians, whose testimony has been adduced, might have had a firm belief of the truth of their religion, unconnected with a belief of the genuineness of the Gospels. There is nothing in the nature of things to render this supposition incredible. But it is a fact deserving particular attention, that the one belief was in their minds identified with the other. Their faith in Christianity was an assurance of the truth of the accounts respecting Christ recorded by the four Evangelists. It was a belief, that he was such as he was represented to be by them; and that he taught the truths, and inculcated the precepts, preserved in their writings. What was to be learnt from the four Gospels was the object of a Christian's faith; and no other source of instruction came in competition with them. They were, as Irenæus expresses it, "the pillar and support of the Church." They were, in

the view of the Christians of his age, *the Gospel*, transmitted in writing, through the appointment of God, by those who had been commissioned to preach it.* To be a Christian, then, was to believe what was recorded in the Gospels; or, in other words, it was to believe the credibility of these books. But these books were believed to be credible, because they were believed to be genuine; to be the works of eyewitnesses, or of those who derived their information from eyewitnesses; histories, all of which had apostolic authority, because they were written by Apostles, or sanctioned by Apostles. Supposing any doubt to have been cast upon their genuineness, the same doubt would have extended to their credibility. If they did not appear till after the apostolic age, a false character had been ascribed to them; and their whole contents would, in consequence, become suspicious. Every attestation, therefore, given by a Christian, of his belief in his religion was an attestation of his belief in the credibility and the genuineness of the four Gospels. It was in consequence and in testimony of this belief, that he lived as a Christian, and was prepared to die as a martyr. But his belief in the genuineness of the Gospels was the belief of an historical fact. It did not regard a matter of opinion or interpretation. At the same time, it lay at the foundation of his religious faith. It was the first point to be settled in becoming a believer. The conversion, the virtues and the sufferings of the early Christians, all, therefore, bear testimony to their firm belief of this fact; it was a fact, respecting which they had the strongest interest in not being deceived; and such, as we have seen, was the information necessarily possessed by them, that, in the exercise of common good sense, they could not be in error.

But even putting out of view those considerations which have been brought forward to explain the value of the testimony of the Christian community, during the last quarter of

* See before, p. 84.

the second century, to the genuineness of the Gospels, it may be shown, that the general reception of these books during the period in question is to be accounted for only by admitting their genuineness.

Before attending to those considerations which may show the truth of this proposition in regard to the Gospels generally, we will advert to some circumstances which respect only the first three. These, when compared together, present phenomena, of which, if their genuineness be denied, no solution can be given not irreconcilable with the fact of the reception of all three as books of the highest authority. The phenomena referred to, consist in the frequent instances of verbal agreement among them, and in their correspondence with one another in the selection and narration of the same events, viewed in connection with their disagreements and individual peculiarities. The common reception of the first three Gospels, and the appearances which these writings present, must be regarded together. When thus regarded, they prove the genuineness of the books in question; because, upon the opposite supposition, no explanation can be given of these appearances not inconsistent with the fact of their common reception. This is the point to which we will now attend.

If it be maintained, that the first three Gospels are the compositions of writers who lived after the apostolic age, then, at first view, three suppositions may present themselves as affording a solution of the phenomena which have been mentioned. One writer may have copied from another, or from both of the others; or each writer may have made use of some written document or documents, which had much in common with those used by the other two, though in many respects dissimilar; or they may all have derived their accounts from tradition, the traditions preserved by one being partly the same with those preserved by another, and partly different. We will examine in order each of these solutions.

I. The supposition, that the author of any one of the first three Gospels copied from either of the others, has in modern times been subjected to very thorough examination. It has been found exposed to great, and, as may seem, insuperable objections, which show themselves on comparing together the contents of the first three Gospels. Some of these objections are stated in another place.* But under the conditions of the case now before us, that is, in connection with the belief that the Gospels were written after the apostolic age, the supposition is liable to peculiar objections, which alone it is necessary to consider at present.

These objections may be shown by applying them to a particular instance; it being kept in mind that they are applicable to any other which may be presented. Let us suppose, then, that the author of the Gospel ascribed to Luke made use of that ascribed to Matthew, and derived from it the large portion of matter which his history has in common with it. The question then arises, What was his purpose in composing his own work? He must have intended to give a better, a more authentic, or a more plausible history, than that ascribed to Matthew, one which might more effectually serve the end proposed in such a work, whatever that were. It must have been his purpose to remodel the gospel before existing, to arrange its contents in suitable order, and to omit, correct, and add, according to his superior information, skill, and judgment. The general character of both histories is strikingly the same; they correspond with each other in the greater part of their contents; and if the writer of that ascribed to Luke took that ascribed to Matthew for the basis of his own work, all change, addition or omission must appear to be intentional correction or improvement. The former work must have been a refashioning of the latter, with the purpose of removing its errors, and supplying its deficiencies. The object of the author of the new history, therefore, was to produce a work which ought to supersede the

* See Additional Note, D.

old. But this is inconsistent with the fact, that those who received his Gospel as authentic, received also that ascribed to Matthew as of equal authority; and those who reverenced that ascribed to Matthew, made no hesitation in admitting that ascribed to Luke as also entitled to the rank of a sacred book. If the writer of the gospel ascribed to Luke intended to give a better, or more serviceable, history than that ascribed to Matthew, he would have been considered either as having succeeded or as having failed. In comparison with the latter work, his own must either have been preferred or rejected. If we imagine that, when he wrote, the gospel afterwards ascribed to Matthew was already regarded as the composition of that Apostle, little favor would have been shown to the author of a pretended revision of such a work, and his book would have obtained little currency. If, at the time when he wrote, the gospel afterwards ascribed to Matthew were regarded as having no claim to higher authority than his own might pretend to, then the two histories would have come in competition, and it cannot be supposed that both would have been received as of equal authority and worth.

Supposing the first three Gospels to have been composed after the apostolic age, or, in other words, if their genuineness be denied, it is obvious that similar arguments may be brought to prove that the author of no one of them made use of either of the other two, in such a manner as to explain the correspondence between their writings. The use supposed is inconsistent with the fact of the common reception of all of them as sacred books of the highest authority.

II. We will, then, examine the next solution which has been mentioned. It may be said that the authors of the first three Gospels each made use of a written document or documents; and that the documents respectively used by them had much common and corresponding matter, and much ver-

bal agreement, but that they were distinguished from one another by many individual peculiarities.

In respect to this supposition, let us consider of what character those documents must have been. They were not separate narratives, of single events, real or supposed, in the life of Christ. It cannot be believed, that after the apostolic age the history contained in the first three Gospels was, before their composition, circulating among Christians in many separate written fragments. Whoever was desirous of obtaining one written account of an event, or supposed event, in the life of Christ, would be desirous of obtaining more. He would extend his collection, and arrange it if he did not find a collection arranged to his hands. The coincidence between the Gospels ascribed to Mark and Luke in the order of the events which they have in common, shows that the authors of these Gospels, if they followed written documents, must have copied documents in which the events were already thus arranged. The writer of the Gospel ascribed to Luke says, that many before him had undertaken to prepare accounts of Christ; and whether we do or do not believe the Gospel to be the work of Luke, there can be no reason for doubting the truth of this information.

The documents in question, then, must have been different histories of Christ, different gospels, in existence before our first three Gospels. Such writings, when once in existence, would soon be widely circulated. Now, upon the supposition that the first three Gospels were composed after the apostolic age, out of such documents, each of them was nothing more than a particular compilation of the same kind with those already existing; made by some unknown individual, who has left no trace of his history. Each of these new collections, likewise, was incomplete; for each of the first three Gospels wants much that is found in the other two, and in the Gospel of John; to say nothing of what may have existed in any of the supposed earlier gospels. There are discrepancies between them, and they present very considerable diffi-

culties when compared together. There could be no reason, therefore, why any individual who had possessed a more ancient collection should reject that to which he had been accustomed, in order to substitute these three, or one of these three, in its place. There was nothing to give these new compilations any peculiar sanctity or authority; or to secure them, any more than other collections of the same kind, from additions and changes. No reason can be assigned why any one of them, and still less why all three equally, should have obtained such celebrity and general reception, a character so exclusively sacred, as to cause all similar compilations to disappear. The proprietor of a different collection, if he chanced to meet with one of these, might note what he found in it, not contained in his own; and if he thought the relation worthy of being preserved, he might insert it in the margin of his old manuscript, or in the text of a new one. But there was no reason why he should reject what he had before regarded as a credible narrative, because he did not find it in one of these compilations. Because three unknown individuals had made three new compilations not differing in their general character from such as had existed before, all other manuscripts of a similar kind would not be destroyed. Copies of various manuscripts would continue to be multiplied, containing, probably, new additions; till at the end of the second century, instead of finding Christians agreed in the use of the four Gospels, we should have found as many different gospels as there had chanced to be different collectors. Under the circumstances supposed, no authority, generally acknowledged, could have belonged to any particular compilation.

III. We will now attend to the third supposition mentioned; that the correspondence between the first three Gospels, supposing them to have been written after the apostolic age, is to be accounted for by the circumstance, that they were all founded upon oral traditionary narratives, in

great part similar or the same. To this, the answer is, that an oral traditionary history of Christ would have varied more in its form as preserved by three different writers. It would have become adulterated in different and opposite ways, probably grossly adulterated, through the various opinions, conceptions, errors and passions of the times following the apostolic age. A large portion of the accounts concerning Christ would have been imperfectly comprehended by many, probably by most, Christians; and in repeating such accounts, they would have conformed them to their own apprehensions, and not to the truth. No narratives are so exposed to change and corruption by oral transmission as those which relate to supernatural events, real or supposed. The forgeries of an excited imagination become more and more mingled with the history, as it passes from mouth to mouth. Oral traditionary relations concerning the founder of Christianity, preserved by Christians after the apostolic age, must have received a different moulding and coloring from many different hands. Had the first three Gospels been founded upon such relations, they would not have been so consistent with each other as they now are, in presenting the same view of the most remarkable character of Christ, of the events of his life, of his words and deeds, and of the purpose of his ministry. They would not have had the striking resemblance to each other which they now possess, in their general complexion. Nor would there have been the remarkable correspondence which now exists among them in many of their relations, in which we find the same facts, conceptions, and language.

In estimating the force of these remarks, we must attend particularly to the circumstance, that the traditionary accounts supposed could not have assumed a well-defined and authorized form, by being embodied into one long, oral narrative, generally taught and received; they must have existed in a fluctuating and unconnected state; for many things are related differently in the first three Gospels; each of them has matter, and two of them, respectively, much matter,

which is not found in either of the others; and the arrangement of Mark and Luke differs from that of Matthew. Let us suppose that the history and discourses of Socrates had been preserved by oral tradition, a tradition, however, not spread over the world, but confined to the city of Athens; and that, some half-century or more after his death, they had been first committed to writing by three different individuals. The improbability that their three works would have resembled each other as much as the first three Gospels, partially expresses the improbability, that these Gospels, being written after the apostolic age, were founded upon oral tradition.

The argument, which it has been my object to illustrate, may be stated briefly in the following manner. There are many correspondences between any two of the first three Gospels, so remarkable, that, in each particular case, they admit only of one of the following explanations; either one writer copied the other, or each writer followed some authority common to both; which authority must have been either written or oral. But either of these solutions, to which we are reduced by the nature of the case, becomes too improbable to be admitted, if we suppose those Gospels to have been written after the apostolic age.*

It is, then, a curious and important circumstance, that in the very structure of the first three Gospels, when compared together, taken in connection with the fact of their common reception and high and peculiar authority among Christians before the close of the second century, we find evidence that they must have been composed during the apostolic age. Upon a contrary supposition, we have seen that no solution can be given of the remarkable phenomena presented by

* On the manner in which the phenomena presented by the first three Gospels, when compared together, may be explained on the supposition of their genuineness, see Additional Note, D.

them, which is in itself probable, and, at the same time, consistent with the fact of their common reception. But if written in the apostolic age, they must have been handed down from that period with such a character as gave them the authority which they afterwards possessed; and no reasonable doubt can remain of their genuineness. They were works which had received the sanction of that age; their authors were then, undoubtedly, known; and they were undoubtedly ascribed to their true authors.

We will now regard the four Gospels in common. Their general reception as genuine and sacred books, during the last quarter of the second century, can be accounted for only by admitting their genuineness.

Let us first view the subject in its simplest form. If the Gospels be not genuine, how was it possible for any one of them to obtain general reception and authority, as the work of the author to whom it was ascribed? This could not have taken place during the age of the Apostles, while the reputed author or his friends were still living. After the death, therefore, of the reputed author, and of most of those acquainted with him, we must suppose that a claim was first set up for a certain book, falsely asserting it to be the work of St. Matthew, or St. John, or one of the other Evangelists. The claim had not before been heard of. The evidence which the case demanded to satisfy any reasonable man, that is, the belief and testimony of the preceding age, was wanting. It must have been evident, therefore, that the claim was without foundation. An attempted fraud of this kind in relation to books of such general interest, and pretending to such high authority, could not, from its very nature, have been successful. It could not have produced belief; and it would be an hypothesis against which it is unnecessary to bring arguments,

to suppose it to have produced, throughout the widely-dispersed Christian community, a general profession of belief in what every one must have known, or at least strongly suspected, to be a falsehood.

Possibly, however, the suggestion may still be made, that the reception of the Gospels, as the works of those to whom they are ascribed, was produced by a general concert and combination among Christians, under the direction of those of most eminence and authority. Enough has been already said to show, that the effect in question could not have been the result of such a combination.* But let us again consider, that the supposition implies great dishonesty in the deceivers, and gross ignorance and credulity in the deceived; and that no part of the Christian community will be exempt from one or the other of these charges. But none would venture explicitly to maintain, that the character of the early Christians was such as to render it probable, that one portion of them was so fraudulent, as to impose upon their brethren, for a rule of faith and practice, certain books, as genuine, which they knew were not genuine; and that the larger portion was so weak, as to submit quietly to the imposition.

It is a strong subsidiary argument, if such be needed, against the supposition of a fraudulent or arbitrary assignment of the names of the authors of the Gospels, that only two of them are ascribed to Apostles; and one of these two is ascribed to an Apostle not distinguished except as the author of the work in question. If the assignment had been arbitrary, names of more distinction would have been chosen. The early fathers, as is well known, were solicitous to prove that the Gospels of Mark and Luke, though not written by Apostles, were entitled to apostolical authority, on the ground that the former only embodied those narratives which St. Peter had delivered orally, and that the latter had received the sanction of St. Paul. Upon the supposition, that these writings were as little the work of the supposed Evangelists

* See before, p. 25, seqq.

as of the Apostles, the names of the latter would have been given them at once.

But there are other considerations to which we will now attend. It is to be particularly remarked, that we have not one only, but four books, each professing to give a history of Jesus Christ. These books, though consistent with each other in their representations of his most remarkable character; though they agree in giving the same view of his doctrines, and of the purpose of his ministry; and though they have many facts and discourses common to two or more of their number; yet differ much from each other in the selection, arrangement, and connection of events, and in their accounts of some particular facts and transactions. Their discrepancies are such as could not escape observation. In the first half of the third century, the importance of them was magnified by Origen in the language of extravagant exaggeration. He adopted, and carried to its greatest length, the allegorical mode of interpreting the Scriptures; and thought that there was no other means of saving the credit of the Gospels, but by recurring to the hidden sense of their words. In one place, after remarking upon an apparent disagreement between the first three Evangelists and St. John, he says:—"And in regard to many other passages; if one carefully examine the Gospels, with a view to the dissonances in their history, which, severally, we shall endeavour to set forth according to our ability, he will, being wholly bewildered, either refuse to acknowledge, conformably to truth, the authority of the Gospels, and, making a selection, will adhere to one alone, not willing wholly to give up the faith concerning our Lord, or, receiving the four, will determine that the truth is not in their literal meaning." *

Now, if we admit that the Gospels were written by the authors to whom they are ascribed, the general reception of all four as

* Comment. in Joan. Tom. x. § 2. Opp. iv. 163.

of equal authority, notwithstanding these discrepancies, is at once accounted for. But supposing them not to be genuine, no probable explanation can be given of this fact. Allowing that each of the four Gospels might, in some way or other, have obtained a certain degree of credit, yet one would have been used by one portion of Christians, and another by another, according as the place of its composition, or some other particular circumstance, favored its reception. There would have been as many different parties among Christians, as there were different Gospels; each party maintaining the superior authority of its own Gospel. Beside these, there would probably have been another large party, which would not have admitted the authority, or at least the genuineness, of any one of our present Gospels. They who had received, and had been accustomed to use, a particular Gospel, would look with suspicion upon another, which was presented as its rival. However credulously they had admitted the claims of their own history, they would examine with jealousy those of a new work. This would especially be the case, if the latter appeared, in any respects, though but of little importance, to be inconsistent with, or contradictory to, the former. But obvious discrepancies exist among the Gospels, the importance of which would be magnified by those, who, having been accustomed to use and reverence one of these books, were urged to receive another as its companion, and to regard it as of equal credit. These discrepancies, apparent or real, must, therefore, have greatly aggravated the difficulty of introducing any other Gospel among those by whom one of the Gospels had been already received.

Let us, for instance, suppose the Gospel ascribed to Luke to have been presented for the first time to Christians, who had been accustomed to use only that ascribed to Matthew. Upon first opening the former, they would have been shocked at finding a genealogy of Christ quite different from that with which they were familiar. They would next have missed, in its place, the Sermon on the Mount, and, having found a

portion of it elsewhere, they would have regarded it as inaccurately reported, when they perceived, that with much verbal similarity, different thoughts were in fact expressed. They would have been offended by an arrangement of events throughout the narrative, irreconcilable with that in their own Gospel. They would have discovered that even a different name, Levi, was given to the supposed author of that Gospel, in the account of his being called by Christ to be an Apostle. Upon further examination, many other discrepancies, real or apparent, that is, many other reasons for rejecting this new history, would have presented themselves; and so far from its being admitted to the same rank with that which they had before used, it would have been thrown aside with strong dislike. Beside the prejudice against it which would thus necessarily exist, we must recollect that all well-founded claims to genuineness and credit are excluded by the supposition we are considering. There is, therefore, no other account to be given of the common reception of these two Gospels, together with the remaining two, as all of equal authority, except this, that they had been handed down from the apostolic age as the works of the persons to whom they were ascribed, and had always been regarded as of equal authority.

To recur for a moment to the notion of a concerted plan to select our present Gospels, ascribe them to certain authors, and bring them into common use, it may be observed, that the more intelligent Christians before the end of the second century would not have concerted a plan to bring four Gospels into use, which the most able and learned of their immediate successors, Origen, thought exposed to such serious objections, when compared with each other.

With the argument just stated, a consideration is connected which deserves particular attention. It is, that if the genuineness of any one of the four Gospels be proved, a very strong presumption immediately arises in favor of the genuineness of the remaining three. If the four Gospels were

not handed down from the apostolic age, and received in common by succeeding Christians, then at some period after that age their respective claims to authority must have come in competition. But, if any one of them were genuine, the authority of *this* had been acknowledged since the times of the Apostles. Now we cannot suppose that Christians, accustomed to use a gospel which they believed, or rather, which, from the nature of the case, they knew to be genuine, would receive a spurious history of Christ as of equal authority. All their prejudices would have been in favor of the book to which they were accustomed. This, then, being genuine, and the other spurious, the evidence for the former being decisive, and the pretended evidence in favor of the latter false, there could be little probability that the new work would be classed with that already received, as a sacred book of the highest value. No probable motive, nor mistake, can be imagined which might lead to so extraordinary a result.

This is taking the most obvious view of the subject. But when we further consider the discrepancies among the Gospels, and reflect that the new history must have appeared, in some respects, inconsistent with, and contradictory to, that genuine Gospel, the authority of which was already established, we perceive how incredible it is that the former would have been placed on a level with the latter. Without doubt, it would have been rejected. Common policy alone, if it were necessary to recur to such a consideration, would have prevented Christians from giving the same authority to a spurious as to a genuine book, if discrepancies existed between them; as these discrepancies would expose the whole history to the cavils and objections of unbelievers.

It appears, therefore, that if any one of the Gospels be genuine, this circumstance alone goes far to prove that all are genuine. If the evidence for either of the Gospels had been much weaker than that for the other three, its discrepancies from them, if there had been no other cause, would have decided its rejection. The fact, that we have

four Gospels, which, with all their essential agreement, differ so much from each other, is a very important means of proving the genuineness of all and of any one of them. That these discrepancies should serve to confirm our faith in all that is essential or important in the narrative contained in the Gospels, has been often observed. They show that the writers had each independent means of information. Such discrepancies naturally, and almost necessarily, exist among all original histories of the same events.

We will pass to another consideration, showing that the Gospels must have been transmitted as genuine from the apostolic age.

They are, evidently, the works of Jewish authors.* But the Gospels descend to us through the Gentile branch of

* To this statement may be objected the opinion, which has obtained some currency, that Luke was a Gentile by birth. But this opinion is countenanced by only a very slight show of evidence.

The main argument for it is derived from the concluding verses of the Epistle to the Colossians, where St. Paul, after sending salutations from some whom he designates as "of the circumcision" (ch. iv. 11), afterwards sends salutations from others, whom it is supposed that he meant to distinguish from those first mentioned by him, as not being of the circumcision. Among them is Luke, and hence it has been inferred that Luke was by birth a Gentile.

But those who favor this opinion admit that he was a proselyte to the Jewish religion before becoming a Christian; and Lardner has shown that there were not, as has been represented, two classes of proselytes among the Jews, one circumcised, and the other uncircumcised. (Works, Ed. 4to. 1815. Vol. iii. p. 395, seqq. Vol. v. p. 496, seqq. Compare Wetstein's note, N. T. Vol. i. pp. 483-485. See also Justin Martyr's Dial. cum Tryph. pp. 399-401, Ed. Thirlb.; or p. 215, Ed. Maran.) All proselytes were circumcised. If Luke, therefore, had been a proselyte, it could not have been the purpose of the Apostle to distinguish him as not being of the circumcision; and the argument, therefore, falls to the ground.

But the question whether Luke were a Jew or Gentile by birth is wholly unimportant, not merely in regard to the reasoning in the text, but in regard to the correct use of language in calling him "a Jewish writer." Proselytes, as we learn from Dion Cassius (quoted by Wetstein, *ubi sup.*), were commonly called Jews; they being Jews by religion, and having become incorporated with the Jewish nation. St. Luke (not, however, as I conceive, on the ground of his being a proselyte, but because he was a Jew by birth) ranks himself with Jews in the

Christians. Now, as has been already observed,* the Jewish and Gentile Christians, from the first admission of the latter into the church, had a strong tendency to separate, and form distinct societies. Hardly held together by the authority of the Apostles, they seem to have started asunder as soon as the power of the Apostles was removed. Very soon, the Gentile Christians far outnumbered the Jewish; and the two parties seem to have regarded each other with somewhat the same feelings as had belonged to Jews and Gentiles before the introduction of Christianity. Before the close of the second century, we find the Jewish Christians, with, perhaps, some individual exceptions, regarded as heretics, under the name of Ebionites. There is, therefore, a great improbability, that, at any period after the apostolic age, Gentile Christians would have received from Jewish Christians four spurious histories of Christ, purporting to have been written by Apostles, and companions of Apostles; and would have deferred with such credulity to their testimony, as to ascribe to these works the character of sacred books.

The improbability of this supposition is increased by the fact, that the four Greek Gospels, the works in question, were not in common use among Jewish Christians. They made use only of a Hebrew Gospel, which, there seems to be no reason to doubt, was, as they first received it, the Hebrew original of Matthew's Gospel, though this, in process of time, became corrupted in their hands. Their early reception of the Hebrew original may have countenanced the use of the Greek translation of Matthew; but in regard to the other three Gospels, the Gentile Christians could not have received them upon the authority and recommendation of the Jewish Christians, by whom they were not used.

But there is another circumstance to be considered. The

commencement of his Gospel, speaking "of the events accomplished among *us*." Whatever question may have been raised respecting the parentage of Luke, there can be no doubt that the author of the Gospel ascribed to him was a Jew by birth or by adoption,—a Jewish writer.

* See before, pp. 51, 52.

Gospels are evidently the work, not merely of Jewish authors, but of *unlearned* Jewish authors, men unskilled in the use of language generally, and of the Greek language in particular. These writings can make no pretension to any merely literary merit. Their Hebraistic style and idioms, with the peculiar senses given to words, must have obscured their meaning, and made them appear barbarous to those whose native language was the Greek. Origen informs us, that "the style of the Scriptures was regarded by the Greeks as poor and contemptible."* "Literary men," says Lactantius, "when they give their attention to the religion of God, unless they receive their fundamental instruction from some able teacher, do not become believers. For being accustomed to pleasing and polished discourses and poems, they despise as sordid the simple and common language of the divine writings."† If, therefore, the Gospels had not been genuine, their style and idiom alone would have formed no small obstacle to their reception.

Let us now put these circumstances together, and adverting merely to the particular view of the subject just taken, consider what is necessarily embraced in the supposition, that the Gospels, being spurious, obtained general authority after the apostolic age. According to this supposition, while the Jewish and Gentile Christians were regarding each other with but little favor, four spurious works, the production of illiterate Jewish writers whose names are wholly unknown, the style of which must have been repulsive to Greeks, and three of which were not in common use among Jewish Christians, and therefore not recommended by their authority, whatever weight that might have had, all, in a body, obtained the highest credit, as sacred books, throughout the widely-dispersed community of Gentile Christians.

It is acknowledged that the four Gospels were received

* Comment. in Joan. Tom. iv. § 2. Opp. iv. 93. † Institut. vi. § 21.

with the greatest respect, as genuine and sacred books, by catholic Christians, that is, by the great body of Christians, at the end of the second century. But earlier than this time, it has been pretended that we find no trace of their existence; and hence it has been inferred, that before this time they were not in common use, and were but little known, even if extant, in their present state.* I shall hereafter produce notices of their existence at a much earlier period. But waiving, for the present, this consideration, the reasoning appears not a little extraordinary. About the end of the second century, the Gospels were reverenced as sacred books by a community dispersed over the world, composed of men of different nations and languages. There were, to say the least, sixty thousand copies of them in existence;† they were read in the churches of Christians; they were continually quoted, and appealed to, as of the highest authority; their reputation was as well established among believers from one end of the Roman empire to the other, as it is at the present day among Christians in any country. But it is asserted, that before that period we find no trace of their existence; and it is, therefore, inferred that they were not in common use, and but little known, even if extant, in their present form. This reasoning is of the same kind as if one were to say, that the first mention of Egyptian Thebes is in the poems of Homer. He, indeed, describes it as a city which poured a hundred armies from its hundred gates; but his is the first mention of it, and therefore we have no reason to suppose that, before his time, it was a place of any considerable note. The general reception of the Gospels as books of the highest authority, at the end of the second century, necessarily implies their celebrity at a much earlier period, and the long-continued operation of causes sufficient to produce so remarkable a phenomenon.

This phenomenon, it may appear from what has been said, could not have been the result of any combination, nor of

* See before, pp. 7, 8. † See before, p. 32.

fraud, nor accident. Those by whom the Gospels were received as books of the highest value were men superior, generally, in moral and intellectual qualities, to their contemporaries; if they were deceived, it was at their peril; they enjoyed such means of knowledge concerning the history of the Gospels as might, and, we may truly say, must, have removed all doubt whether they were genuine or not; and in their words and by their lives they unequivocally affirmed them to be genuine. The first three Gospels, when compared together, present appearances which, viewed in connection with the fact of their general reception, admit of no explanation that does not suppose their genuineness. But further; —from the nature of the case, the Gospels must have made their way to general reception by their intrinsic worth and authority. Four histories of Christ, the work of unlearned Jewish authors, written in a style which must have appeared barbarous to native Greeks, and regarded by those who held them in the highest respect as presenting discrepancies with each other, which, in the literal sense of their words, were irreconcilable, obtained equal reception throughout the Christian community, from beyond the Euphrates, through Asia Minor, Greece, Egypt, and Italy, to the western coasts of Spain and Africa. They were received as sacred books by portions of this community, who, probably, had never heard of each other's existence. Wherever the religion had spread, they had spread with it. The faith of Christians rested on the belief of their authenticity. Of these facts, no other account can be given, than that those writings were derived from the same sources as the religion itself; and had been handed down with it from the apostolic age, as its authentic records. But if this be so, no reasonable question can be raised respecting their genuineness. It could not be established by any proof more decisive and unsuspicious than what has just been stated; for it appears as a necessary inference from notorious and indisputable facts.

Such is the conclusion concerning the genuineness of the Gospels to be drawn from the fact of their reception as genuine throughout the community of catholic Christians in the last quarter of the second century. But all reasoning on historical subjects, however decisive it may seem, admits of confirmation; and we are not satisfied, till whatever difficulties have been opposed to it are removed. We will, therefore, proceed to examine whether the conclusion to which we have arrived is confirmed or weakened by evidence from a still earlier period. We will first attend to the evidence of Justin Martyr. It has been maintained, as we have before seen,* that he did not quote the Gospels. But, consistently with the conclusion to which we have arrived, and in confirmation of it, I trust it may be clearly shown, that he did quote the same Gospels to which we now appeal, and that he, and the Christians contemporary with him, held them in as high respect as the Christians who immediately succeeded him, or as do Christians at the present day.

* See before, pp. 3-5.

CHAPTER II.

EVIDENCE TO BE DERIVED FROM THE WRITINGS OF JUSTIN MARTYR.

In ascending toward the apostolic age, after the fathers who have been mentioned in the last chapter, we come to Justin Martyr, who flourished about the year 150. He was of Gentile extraction, born in Flavia Neapolis, a city of Samaria, in the latter part of the first, or beginning of the second, century. He studied the different systems of heathen philosophy under several masters. He preferred the Platonic; until he became acquainted with Christianity, which he then embraced, as the only "certain and useful philosophy." He appears to have spent much of his life in travelling; and, according to Eusebius, chose Rome for his residence, where, as there seems no reason to doubt, he suffered martyrdom. As early as the year 150, he addressed a Defence of Christianity to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, in connection with Marcus Antoninus and Lucius Verus, and the Roman senate and people. Afterwards, he wrote another work in explanation and defence of Christianity, in the form of a dialogue with an unbelieving Jew, called Trypho. It is doubtful whether the form given to it be wholly fictitious, or whether the work were occasioned by a conference which actually took place. Not long before his death he published a second Defence of Christianity. His two defences are commonly called Apologies, the name being used in the sense of the Greek word from which it is derived, namely, "defence," "vindication."

Besides those that have been mentioned, Justin composed writings which are lost. There are three other short works extant, of which he was perhaps the author.* But they are

* Ad Græcos Oratio, Ad Græcos Cohortatio, De Monarchiâ.

all addressed to Gentile unbelievers, and contain no reference to any book giving a history of Christ. This is true, likewise, of his second Apology, which is short. It was occasioned by a particular act of persecution at Rome, in which three Christians were put to death. Our attention, therefore, is confined to the first Apology, and the Dialogue with Trypho.

From these works of Justin might be extracted a brief account of the life and doctrines of Christ, corresponding with that contained in the Gospels, and corresponding to such a degree, both in matter and words, that almost every quotation and reference may be readily assigned to its proper place in one or other of the Gospels. There was, consequently, till within a short period, no doubt entertained that the Gospels were quoted by Justin. The facts just mentioned do not fully establish this proposition; but they afford a strong presumption of its truth. To the supposition, however, that Justin quoted the Gospels, objections have been made, which, as far as they are important, may be reduced to the three following heads.

I. He nowhere designates any one of the Gospels by the title of it afterwards in use, or names the Evangelists as the authors whom he quotes. His quotations are taken from what he calls "Memoirs by the Apostles;" for so we may translate the title which he gives to the work or works to which he appeals.*

II. There is a great want of verbal coincidence between his quotations, and the corresponding passages in the Gospels.

III. He has passages apparently or professedly taken from the written history of Christ used by him, which are not found in the Gospels.†

* Τὰ Ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων.

† These objections are stated in a dissertation by F. A. Stroth, published in the first volume of Eichhorn's Repertorium, and entitled, Entdecte Fragmente des Evangeliums nach den Hebräern in Justin dem Märtyrer, i. e. Fragments of

The facts stated in the first two objections admit of sufficient explanation, by attending to the character of Justin's writings, and the circumstances under which they were composed. His quotations are found, as has been said, in his first and longer Apology, and in his Dialogue with Trypho. In the former work, he gives an account of Christ and his ministry, of the doctrines and precepts of his religion, and of the character of his followers. He is, throughout, addressing heathens.

We will first, then, consider the manner in which he has described the Gospels (as we believe) in this Apology.* He quotes much from them without any express reference or description, which, however, he has given three times, in the following words.

1. "And the messenger then sent to that virgin announced to her the glad news, saying, 'Behold, thou shalt conceive through the Holy Spirit, and bring forth a son, and he shall be the son of the Most High; and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall deliver his people from their sins;' *as those who have written memoirs concerning every thing relating to our Saviour, Jesus Christ, have taught, whom we believe.*" †

2. In giving an account of the Last Supper of our Lord, he says:—"*The Apostles, in the Memoirs composed by them which are called Gospels,* have thus informed us," ‡ &c.

3. He says:—"On the day which is called the day of the

the Gospel according to the Hebrews discovered in Justin Martyr.—Eichhorn's Einleitung in d. N. T. i. 78-106.—Bishop Marsh's Letters to the Anonymous Author of Remarks on Michaelis and his Commentator, pp. 28-32,—and his Illustration of his Hypothesis respecting the Origin and Composition of our three first Gospels, Appendix, pp. 22-79.

* The order of the Apologies in the older editions being inverted, the first written is often cited as the second; as it is by Eichhorn. This fact, if not explained, might produce some confusion. I call that the first Apology which was first written, and which is placed first in the later editions; and follow, in quoting, the pages of Thirlby's edition.

† Ὡς οἱ ἀπομνημονεύσαντες πάντα τὰ περὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐδίδαξαν, οἷς ἐπιστεύσαμεν. p. 54.

‡ Οἱ γὰρ Ἀπόστολοι ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ καλεῖται Εὐαγγέλια, οὕτως παρέδωκαν. p. 96.

Sun [Sunday], we all, whether dwelling in cities or in the country, assemble together; when the Memoirs by the Apostles,* or the writings of the Prophets, are read, as long as time permits." He then describes the rest of the service, which consisted in an exhortation, prayer, the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and a contribution for the poor.

We believe, that the books of which Justin thus speaks were the Gospels; and it does not appear how, in addressing a heathen emperor, and heathen readers, he could have described them more clearly than he has done, or afforded more satisfactory proof that they were the works to which he appealed. How early the term rendered "Gospel" came to be applied to a history of Christ, is uncertain. We have no evidence that it was so, long before the time of Justin. In this application the word was so removed from its original sense, that the meaning put upon it would not have been understood, without explanation, by a native Greek, acquainted only with its common use in his language. If it was perceived to be the title of a book, it would still convey to him no proper and distinct notion of the contents of that book. This, therefore, was not a title to be used without explanation by Justin, in addressing a Roman emperor. Nor would there have been more propriety in his giving the names of the authors of the respective Gospels. Of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, neither the emperor, nor the generality of those heathens who might read his Apology, had, probably, ever heard. The names of four unknown individuals would have carried with them no historical authority. Considering the state of things at the time when Justin wrote, there would have been something incongruous, and almost ludicrous, in quoting by name "The Gospel according to Matthew," or "The Gospel according to Luke," in an address to the Roman emperor and senate. The object of Justin in appealing to any history of Christ was to show that his own statements rested on authority acknowledged by those in whose name he spoke.

* Τὰ Ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων. p. 97.

It was necessary, therefore, for him to describe those books in words which would be understood, and which would show, at the same time, how they were esteemed by Christians. This is what he has done. He calls them "Memoirs by the Apostles." The description was of the kind which his purpose required, and was sufficiently correct; for though only two of the Gospels were written by Apostles, the other two, according to the universal sentiment of antiquity, were considered as carrying with them apostolic authority; being sanctioned by Apostles, and containing only narratives derived from them. We shall presently perceive, that on another occasion he expressed himself with perfect accuracy.

In his Dialogue with Trypho, Justin defends and maintains Christianity against the objections of the unbelieving Jews. Like his Apologies, therefore, this work was intended to be read by unbelievers, and by unbelievers who, as appears from a passage to be hereafter quoted, might never have heard the names of the Evangelists. In speaking of the Gospels, Justin, accordingly, pursues the same course as in his Apology. But in this Dialogue, we find the following passage. "In those *Memoirs*," says Justin, "*which I affirm to have been composed by Apostles of Christ and their companions*, it is written, that sweat, like drops of blood, flowed from him while he was praying." No description of the four Gospels could be more precise than what is here given. They are described as "Memoirs of Christ composed by Apostles and their companions." *

That companions of the Apostles are here named by Justin, serves especially to prove that he referred to the Gospels when viewed in connection with the fact, that the passage which he immediately quotes is found only in the Gospel of Luke, who was a companion of the Apostles. In another place,† a little after, Justin speaks of our Saviour's changing the name of Peter, "as it is written in his Memoirs;" and likewise of

* Ἃ φημι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολουθησάντων συντετάχθαι. p. 361.

† P. 365.

his giving to James and John the name of *Boanerges*.* By *his* Memoirs, according to Justin's constant use of language, we must understand Memoirs of which Peter may be regarded as the author.† But it was the opinion of the ancients, that Mark's Gospel was essentially the narrative of Peter, and thus entitled to apostolic authority. The mention of the surname given to James and John is to be found in no other Gospel.

The explanation which has been given of the fact, that Justin does not mention the Evangelists by name, is confirmed by a passage before referred to,‡ as proving that those for whom he intended his work might never have heard of the names of the Evangelists. He believed that the Apocalypse was written by St. John; and in defending the doctrine of a Millennium, after quoting passages from the Old Testament, he appeals to that work in the following terms:—"And a man of our own number, by name John, one of the Apostles of Christ, in the revelation which was made by him, has prophesied that the believers in our Christ shall spend a thousand years in Jerusalem; and that after this, will be, to speak briefly, the general and eternal resurrection and judgment of all men together." § With the exception of St. Paul, there was probably no one of the early disciples whose name was more likely to be known to unbelievers, than that of St. John; yet we see in what manner he is here mentioned. It is easy to perceive how little advantage or propriety there would have been in Justin's quoting the Evangelists by name, when addressing those to whom their names were unknown. Nor was there any cause why, with the purpose which he had in

* Comp. Mark iii. 17.

† As 'Αποστόλων elsewhere when governed by 'Απομνημονεύματα denotes the authors and not the subjects of these Memoirs, so in this passage, the genitive αὐτοῦ must refer to him who was regarded, in a certain sense, as the author of the work in question, namely, Peter, and not to the subject of the work, Christ. Justin nowhere uses the expression, 'Απομνημονεύματα Χριστοῦ.

‡ On the preceding page. § P. 315.

view, either in his Apology or his Dialogue with Trypho, he should be careful to distinguish between what he took from one Evangelist, and what from another. He regarded all as of equal authority. There was, therefore, no reason why he should specify the different Evangelists by name in quoting their Gospels. There was not even a suitable occasion for him to do so.

II. We come, then, to the second objection, the want of verbal coincidence between the quotations of Justin, and the corresponding passages in the Gospels.

In order to understand the precise force of this objection, it should be premised, that in the quotations in question the language answers in great part to that of the Evangelists; but that the cases are comparatively rare in which a series of words of any considerable length runs strictly parallel with the corresponding passage in the Gospels. There is commonly a change, addition, or omission of one or more words, or an alteration in the construction or arrangement.*

Respecting the objection, as thus explained, it may first be remarked, that it proceeds on a false assumption concerning the degree of accuracy generally to be found in the quotations of the fathers, in cases where no particular circumstance operated to produce it. Strict verbal coincidence between their citations from Scripture, and the text of the New Testament or of the Septuagint, from which they quoted, is not to be confidently expected, except under conditions which do not apply to Justin's citations from the Gospels. The fathers may be presumed to have quoted verbally in their commentaries; because they may be supposed to have written with the volume, on which they were commenting, open before

* For a specimen of Justin's quotations, see Additional Note, E. All his quotations corresponding to passages in the Gospels are professedly collected by Stroth, p. 41, seqq., and are copied from him by Eichhorn, who has likewise given, side by side, the passages in the Gospels, for the sake of convenience in comparing them. Einleitung, i. 515, seqq.

them. There is a presumption, likewise, that they were often accurate in their controversial writings; as it is obviously proper, when a doctrine is to be proved or disproved by the Scriptures, to produce the passages appealed to in the very words of the original. They sometimes give proof of quoting verbally by remarking on the various readings of a passage. One father, likewise, from habits of critical study of the Scriptures, is frequently correct, while another is more inaccurate. Origen, for example, quotes, generally, with closer adherence to the text than Clement of Alexandria, of whom it has been remarked, that "he not unfrequently cites from memory; and gives rather the sense than the words of the sacred writers."* But in many of the works of the fathers, there is a want of verbal coincidence similar to that found in Justin's quotations from the Gospels. The other fathers, like Justin, quoted from memory, carelessly, substituting one synonymous word or clause for another, transposing the order of words and thoughts, omitting parts of a passage, paraphrasing, inserting their own explanations, expressing the meaning in their own language, and blending together passages which stand remote from each other in the Scriptures.†

Accuracy of quotation seems to have been less regarded by ancient writers, in general, than by modern; a circumstance probably arising from the greater difficulty in procuring and in consulting books. It has been remarked, for instance, that Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his rhetorical works, often quotes the same passage differently; and that, particularly, he has long citations from Isocrates repeated, sometimes more than once, with variations.‡ We may mention, as another example, the well-known fact of the want of exactness in the quotations from the Old Testament, contained in the Gospels and Epistles. In ancient times, the unrolling of a volume to find a particular passage must have taken more

* Griesbach. Symbol. Crit. Tom. ii. p. 235.

† See Additional Note, E.

‡ Vid. Matthæi Nov. Test. Græcè. Tom. i. p. 690. n. 13.

time, and given more trouble, than the opening of a book in modern days.

But besides the false assumption respecting the general accuracy of the fathers in their quotations, the objection we are considering rests for support upon an express assertion respecting Justin in particular. It has been said, that "Justin is extremely accurate as to the *words* of his quotations." * If Justin had been extremely accurate in his quotations from other books, there might be a reasonable doubt whether the Memoirs by the Apostles were the four Gospels, on account of the want of verbal agreement between his quotations and the text of the Gospels. But with the special exception to be hereafter mentioned, which does not affect the present argument, the assertion is strangely erroneous. Justin's frequent want of accuracy in his quotations has been remarked in strong language by the commentators on his writings.† There is a great want of verbal coincidence in many of his quotations from the Septuagint. He alters and transposes the language. He brings together detached passages from the same or from different books, giving them in connection, as if they followed each other in the original. It is not uncommon for him to commit the error of ascribing to one Prophet the words of another; and he has even, apparently through indistinct recollection, and the confounding of different things together, quoted the Pentateuch, once expressly, and once by implication, for facts not to be found in it.‡ I have noticed in his Apologies and Dialogue seven quotations from Plato. There is one of them, consisting only of four words in the original, which would be verbally accurate, if Justin had not inserted a particle. None of the others is so. In three, he gives what he conceived to be the sense, without regard to the words, of Plato; and in the only other

* Marsh's Letters, p. 31, note. Comp. Appendix to Illustration, p. 32, seqq.

† See Thirlby's edition, pp. 75, 92, 166, 180.

‡ See Additional Note, E.

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of any considerable length there is much discrepance of language.* He quotes likewise from Xenophon the story of the choice of Hercules, giving this also in his own words.

It is true that many of Justin's quotations from the Septuagint, in the Dialogue with Trypho, correspond closely to the text of the original. But their difference in this respect from his other quotations in his first Apology and in the Dialogue is easily explained. Many of those referred to are of such length, as, at first view, to render it improbable that he trusted to his memory, as on other occasions. In citing a whole Psalm, or a long passage from one of the Prophets, he is verbally correct, or nearly so, because, as it may be presumed, he recurred to the volume, and transcribed it. In his Dialogue with Trypho, he is reasoning in controversy with a Jew from passages of the Old Testament; and this circumstance would lead him to pay particular attention to accuracy in citing it. It is to be observed, also, that for his quotations from the Septuagint, he had an invariable archetype; while, on the contrary, the same facts or discourses were often recorded in different terms in each of the first three Gospels. This diversity would tend to prevent a distinct and accurate impression of any particular form of words from being left on the memory; and would, at the same time, seem to prove it unimportant to adhere closely to the language of any one of the Evangelists.

It seemed proper to enter into the preceding explanations, in order to show the sources of the erroneous reasoning respecting the quotations of Justin. But the fact, that he did not cite the work or works, which he entitles Memoirs, with verbal accuracy, admits of decisive proof. In at least seventeen instances, he has repeated the same quotation. Now if he had cited with verbal accuracy, every quotation, when repeated, must have agreed with itself. But this is not the fact. Passing over what may be considered as trifling variations, we find, that in more than half of them, as repeated, there is a striking

* See Additional Note, E.

want of correspondence, either in the words themselves, or in their connection with other words quoted.* Nothing can be said, which will tend either to illustrate, or to set aside, the inference from this fact. The conclusion, that Justin did not quote the Memoirs used by him with verbal accuracy, is irresistible; and it is truly an extraordinary phenomenon, that an hypothesis should have been built upon the opposite supposition.

It would have been strange if Justin, in composing such works as he did, had regarded verbal accuracy in quoting the Gospels. He wrote for unbelieving Gentiles and Jews,—men ignorant of what Christianity really was. It was his purpose to give a general view of its history and character. In pursuing this purpose, while using the Gospels as his main authority, he intermixes with his statements quotations from them, sometimes partly in the words of the original and partly in his own. He blends together passages taken from different places in the same Gospel, or from different Evangelists. He quotes the Gospels from memory, as, with the exceptions before mentioned, he does the Septuagint. In thus quoting the Septuagint he has committed remarkable mistakes; but he might well feel assured, that, in reporting the teachings or the history of our Lord, his memory would not so fail as to cause him to give a false representation of them. It would have been, not a degree of accuracy that we might reckon upon, but it would have been superstitious precision, if, in addressing a Roman emperor, or unbelieving Jews, he had thought it necessary to transcribe the exact words of any one of the Gospels in the exact order in which they stand,—especially while he found the same facts, and the same sayings, presented by different Evangelists in different words. In works of such a character as those of Justin, composed at so early a period in the history of Christianity, his mode of quotation was such as might reasonably be expected.

* See Additional Note, E.

In not mentioning the Gospels by the titles in use among Christians, and in not appealing to the Evangelists by name, Justin pursued a course similar to that which was adopted by a long series of Christian *Apologists* from his time to that of Constantine. In other words, it was the course pursued by the fathers generally in their works addressed to unbelievers; —by Justin's disciple, Tatian, who, though he formed a history of Christ out of the four Gospels, does not make mention of them, nor of the Evangelists, in his Oration to the Gentiles;—by Athenagoras, who is equally silent about them in his Apology, addressed, in the last quarter of the second century, to Marcus Aurelius;—by Theophilus, who conforms to the common usage of the writers with whom he is to be classed, except that, as before mentioned,* he once speaks of "the Gospels," and uses once the name "Gospel," and once the term "Evangelic voice," in citing the Gospels, and once quotes the Evangelist John by name;—by Tertullian, who quotes the Gospels elsewhere so abundantly, but from whose Apology, or from whose work "To the Nations," no information (supposing those works to stand alone) could be gleaned concerning them;—by Minutius Felix, whose single remaining book, a spirited and interesting defence of Christianity and attack on heathenism, in the form of a dialogue, affords, likewise, no evidence that the Gospels were in existence; —by Cyprian, the well-known Bishop of Carthage about the middle of the third century, who, in his defence of Christianity, addressed to Demetrian, a heathen, does not name the Gospels, nor the Evangelists;—and, to come down to the beginning of the fourth century, by Arnobius, who, in his long work "Against the Gentiles," does not cite any book of Scripture;—and by Lactantius, who, in his Divine Institutes, does not speak of the Gospels, nor quote by name any one of the Evangelists, except John, and mentions him only in a single passage.†

Cyprian, in his work addressed to Demetrian, has quota-

* See before, p. 87.

† Institut. Lib. iv. § 8.

tions from Scripture, and among them three from the Gospels, though the Gospels are not expressly named by him. On this Lactantius remarks, that Cyprian has not treated the subject as he ought; for Demetrian "was not to be confuted by authorities from that Scripture which he regarded as false and fabricated, but by arguments and reason." *

Such, as we have seen, was the course generally adopted by the fathers, in their works addressed to unbelievers. But among all who have been mentioned, Justin is remarkably distinguished by the abundance of his quotations from the Gospels, and by the explicitness with which he has described their character.

III. We proceed to the last objection. It is, that Justin has passages, apparently or professedly taken from the history or histories of Christ used by him, which are not found in the Gospels.

In respect to these passages it is first to be observed, that, with only one exception,† which presents no considerable difficulty, they are not professedly taken by Justin from the Memoirs used by him, or from any other book. That they are not found in the Gospels can therefore afford no proof that Justin did not elsewhere quote the Gospels. It must be remembered, that he lived near the times of the Apostles; and that there would be nothing strange in his having learnt by oral tradition, or from some writing or writings, then extant, but since lost, a few facts respecting our Saviour not recorded by the Evangelists. From either source, accordingly, we may suppose him to have derived one or two circumstances which he mentions. In other passages, he has probably done nothing more than express, in different terms, his conception of the meaning of the Evangelists, sometimes dilating it a little, and blending with it his own inferences. The following are the only passages of sufficient curiosity or importance to require particular remark.

* Institut. Lib. v. § 4. † See No. 4, following.

1. Justin says, that the Jews who witnessed the miracles performed by Jesus, "said that they were a magical delusion; and dared to call him a magician, and a deceiver of the people." *

Justin has here only stated, in different language, facts recorded by the Evangelists, who relate that the enemies of Christ said, that he cast out devils by Beelzebub; and that he deceived the people. Lactantius expresses himself in the same manner as Justin. "He performed wonderful things," says that writer; "we might have thought him a magician, as you now think him, and as the Jews then thought him; if all the prophets, inspired by the same spirit, had not predicted that the Messiah would perform those very things." † It was a common pretence of the enemies of Christianity, that our Lord performed his miracles by magic.

2. Justin says, that "Christ being regarded as a worker in wood, did make, while among men, ploughs and yokes, thus setting before them symbols of righteousness, and teaching an active life." ‡

It may be doubted, whether Justin was acquainted with any narrative to this effect. In the Gospel of Mark, the Nazarenes, according to the Common Version, are represented as asking concerning Jesus, "Is not this the carpenter?" § The word rendered "carpenter," Justin, it appears, understood as denoting a worker in wood, which is not improbably its meaning in this passage. He may, therefore, have mentioned the particular implements which he does, because he regarded their fabrication as part of the proper business of a worker in wood.

3. Justin says, that "when Christ was born at Bethlehem, as Joseph could find no room in any inn in that village, he lodged in a certain cave, near the village; and while they

* Dial. cum Tryph. p. 288.
† Institut. Lib. v. § 3.
‡ Dial. cum Tryph. p. 333.
§ Mark vi. 3.

were there, Mary brought forth the Messiah, and laid him in a stall." *

There was a prevailing tradition that our Lord was born in a cave, which is found in many of the fathers besides Justin. At the present day, in the East, caves, it is said, are sometimes used for stables. Origen states, that, "conformably to the account in the Gospel-history of the birth of Christ, there is shown the cave in Bethlehem, in which he was born; and in the cave, the stall where he was swathed; and the place which is shown is famous in that neighbourhood, even among those who are aliens from the faith, on the ground, that in this cave was born that Jesus whom Christians revere and venerate." † The alleged cave of the Nativity is still shown at Bethlehem.

4. Justin twice ‡ gives the words, *Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee,* as those uttered at our Saviour's baptism; and in one place says expressly that the words were found in the Memoirs by the Apostles.

The words alleged by Justin are not in the Gospels, but they are given, as uttered at the baptism of our Saviour, by several other ancient writers, whose acquaintance with, and constant use of, the Gospels is well known. They are found in Clement of Alexandria, Methodius, Hilary, Lactantius, and Juvencus. Augustin states that these words were the reading of some manuscripts, though not, it was said, of the most ancient Greek copies, upon Luke iii. 22; and they are still found there in the Cambridge manuscript, and in several Latin manuscripts.§

This, then, is nothing more than an error common to Justin with many others. It seems to have had its origin in a confusion of memory; the words in question being applied to our Saviour repeatedly in the New Testament. ||

* Dial. cum Tryph. p. 306. Comp. Luke ii. 7.

† Cont. Cels. Lib. i. § 51. Opp. i. 367. ‡ Dial. cum Tryph. p. 333 et p. 361.

§ See Thirlby's note, p. 333, and Griesbach's Nov. Test. Luke iii. 22.

|| Acts xiii. 33. Hebrews i. 5.—v. 5.

5. The next passage, likewise, relates to the baptism of our Saviour. Justin says, "When Jesus came to the river Jordan where John was baptizing, upon his entering the water, a fire was kindled in the Jordan; and the Apostles of this same person, our Messiah, have written that when he came out of the water, the Holy Spirit, like a dove, alighted upon him."*

Justin says, that as Jesus entered the water a fire was kindled in the Jordan. Of this story, beside the mention of it by him, traces are elsewhere extant.† His mention of it is incidental. In what precedes the passage quoted, he is explaining at length what he supposes to be meant by "the Spirit of God resting upon Jesus." In relation to this subject, he quotes the account of the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Jesus at his baptism, and alleges for this fact the testimony of the Apostles. But he does not bring into his argument the appearance of fire in the Jordan; nor, according to the grammatical construction of his words, does he say that this appearance was related by the Apostles.

But it has been contended, that his whole account of the baptism of our Lord is so closely connected, that he must be understood as giving for the whole the authority of the Apostles, and, therefore, that he quoted the whole from his Memoirs by the Apostles. This seems to be forcing a construction on his words, for the sake of creating a difficulty or an argument. But should it be admitted that Justin is to be thus understood, we might conclude, either that the story of the fire in the Jordan had been interpolated in the copy of the Gospels which he used, as a similar story has been interpolated in two manuscripts, now extant, of old Latin Versions,‡ or, what may seem more probable, that Justin, who

* Κατελθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ πῦρ ἀνήφθη ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ, καὶ ἀναβάντος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος, ὡς περιστερὰν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐπιπτῆναι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔγραψαν οἱ Ἀπόστολοι αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡμῶν. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 331.

† See Thirlby's note, p. 331; and Maran's note, p. 185 of his edition of Justin. Also Grabe's Spicilegium, i. 69.

‡ See Griesbach's N. T. Matt. iii. 15.

often wrote carelessly, adduced the authority of the Apostles for the whole of his account, while in fact it applied only to the essential part of it, and not to the circumstance which he had incidentally mentioned. As I have before observed, he twice refers to the Pentateuch for supposed facts not to be found in it.

6. The following is the only remaining passage:—"Accordingly," Justin remarks, "our Lord Jesus Christ said, 'In whatever actions I apprehend you, by those I will judge you.'" *

These words are found, with some variety of form, in many ancient Christian writers; but Justin is the only one who appears to ascribe them to Christ.† His error, for I doubt not it is an error, may have arisen from a failure of memory similar to that through which he has elsewhere ascribed to one prophet the words of another; or, perhaps, he may have been acquainted with some tradition or writing, which ascribed the saying in question to our Saviour.

There are a few sayings attributed to Jesus, in the writings of the fathers, which are not recorded in the Gospels. Thus, for example, Irenæus quotes‡ without distrust from Papias a pretended discourse of our Lord relating to the Millennium, resembling the extravagant fables of the Jewish rabbis found in the Talmud. He is represented as predicting, that there would be at that time an enormous increase in the size and productiveness of plants, particularly of the vine and of wheat, and as describing the clusters of grapes as about to be indued with a human voice. The story deserves particular attention, as serving to show what sort of materials might have gone to the composition of the Gospels, if their composition had been delayed till the times of Irenæus and Justin Martyr.

* Dial. cum Tryph. p. 232.

† Fabricii Cod. Apoc. N. T. Tom. i. p. 333. Ed. 2da.

‡ Cont. Hæres. Lib. v. c. 33. §§ 3, 4. p. 333.

Origen speaks* of "the precept of Jesus," *Be good money-changers*, that is, learn to distinguish well between what is true and what is false, as skilful money-changers distinguish readily good money from bad. There is no intrinsic improbability that these words were uttered by Jesus. Origen often quotes or alludes to them. So also does Clement of Alexandria, who cites them as words of Scripture; † and they are found in many other ancient writers, though the greater number do not expressly refer them to Christ. ‡

Clement represents our Lord as saying, "Ask great things, and what are small shall be given you in addition." § Origen quotes these words without expressly ascribing them to Christ, but appearing to give them as his, and adds the following:—"Ask heavenly things, and what are earthly shall be given you in addition;" ‖ and in another place, he states that Jesus said,—"For the sake of the weak I was weak, for the sake of the hungry I hungered, and for the sake of the thirsty I thirsted." ¶

We know how familiarly acquainted Irenæus, Clement and Origen were with the Gospels, and in what high respect they held them. The fact, therefore, that Justin quotes a supposed saying of our Lord not found in the Gospels, or that he mentions some unimportant incidents not recorded in them, affords no proof that he was not equally well acquainted with the Gospels, and did not hold them in like respect.

The examination of the passages from Justin which we have gone over is of much more interest than may appear at first sight. He carries us back to the age which followed that of the Apostles. His writings have been searched for the purpose of finding some notices of Christ, or some inti-

* Comment. in Joan. Tom. xix. § 2. Opp. iv. 289, where see Huet's note.
† Stromat. Lib. i. § 28. p. 425. See Potter's note.
‡ Fabricii Cod. Apoc. N. T. Tom. i. pp. 330, 331.
§ Stromat. Lib. i. § 24. p. 416. Comp. Lib. iv. § 6. p. 579.
‖ De Orat. § 2 et § 14. Opp. i. 197 et 219.
¶ Comment. in Matth. Tom. xiii. § 2. Opp. iii. 573.

mations relating to him, different from the accounts of the Evangelists. But nothing that can be regarded as of any importance has been discovered. On the contrary, he gives a great part of the history of Christ in perfect harmony with what is found in the Gospels, sometimes agreeing in words, and always in meaning. It is remarkable, that in so early a writer as Justin, there is so little matter additional to what is contained in the Gospels; so little which one can suppose to be derived from any other source. That we find what we do presents no marvel nor difficulty. The phenomenon to be accounted for is, that we find no more; and of this phenomenon the only satisfactory explanation is, that the Gospels had come down from the apostolic age with such a weight of authority, there was such an entire reliance on their credibility, that it was generally felt to be unwise and unsafe to blend any uncertain accounts with the history contained in them. Such accounts, therefore, were neglected and forgotten. The Gospels extinguished all feebler lights.

In what precedes, we have examined the objections to the conclusion, that Justin quoted the Gospels. We will now attend to the arguments in proof of this fact.

I. In other cases, where we find such an agreement of thoughts and words as exists between the passages quoted by Justin and passages of the Gospels, particularly of Matthew and Luke, no doubt is entertained that the volume thus furnishing a counterpart to certain citations was the work cited.* The presumption arising from this agreement is to be overborne only by the strongest objections, founded on some striking peculiarity in the case. Nothing, however, has been

* The coincidence is particularly striking in several citations from the Old Testament common to St. Matthew and Justin, in which the latter writer appears to have followed, wholly or in part, the Greek Gospel of the former; though the passages, as they stand in that Gospel, agree neither with the Septuagint nor the Hebrew.—See Additional Note, E.

opposed to it, but the conjecture, that there may have been some work extant in the time of Justin, as nearly allied in character to the first three Gospels as any one of these is to either of the others; and that Justin quoted this work, and not the Gospels.

But in regard to any book which Justin may be conjectured to have quoted, it must answer to the following conditions. It must have been one which he and other Christians believed, or professed to believe, "written by Apostles and companions of Apostles;" it must have been of the highest authority among Christians,—a sacred book, read in their churches; it must have been the work to be appealed to as containing those facts, doctrines, and precepts, on which they formed their lives; and it must, immediately after he wrote, have fallen into entire neglect and oblivion; for no mention of it, or allusion to it, as quoted by him, is discoverable in any writer who succeeded him. But it is impossible to believe all these propositions to be true of any book.

The supposition of some one book, different from the Gospels, has been resorted to by those who have maintained that Justin did not quote the Gospels; though they have not agreed among themselves in their conjectures as to what this book might be. But this supposition is irreconcilable with the language of Justin, which implies that he quoted a number of books; as I shall remark more particularly hereafter. Should it, in consequence, be maintained that he used a number of books different from the Gospels, the objections just urged would apply with even greater force, if possible, to this supposition than to that of a single book. No plausible hypothesis, therefore, can be framed to detract from the evidence afforded by the correspondence of Justin's quotations with the contents of the Gospels.

These quotations principally correspond to passages in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. But if Justin, and the Christians contemporary with him, received those Gospels as works of the highest authority, we may confidently infer, that

they received the other two Gospels as bearing the same character. Had they not done so, it is impossible that the Gospels of Mark and John should have been so regarded by their younger contemporaries, the Christians of the time of Irenæus. We have before attended to the considerations, which show that such an event could not have occurred; that, if the authority of two, or of one, of the Gospels were established in the Christian community, this would present a decisive obstacle to the reception of any other, which had not always been regarded as having like authority.*

In respect to the use made by Justin of the Gospels of Mark and John, it may be observed that Mark records but few discourses of our Saviour, and has very little which is not common to him with Matthew or Luke, except some additional circumstances in the relation of particular facts, not of a character to be noticed in giving a general view of the history and doctrines of Christianity. His language, likewise, when different, being commonly inferior to that of Matthew and Luke, Justin would naturally prefer their expressions. But, as we have seen,† he has mentioned two facts recorded only by Mark, and that with an almost explicit reference to his particular Gospel.

From John's Gospel Justin derived his doctrine of the incarnation of the Logos in Christ, a doctrine which must have been founded on the first verses of that Gospel. The conception of the Logos, indeed, was familiar before the time when either Justin or St. John wrote; but the doctrine of the incarnation of the Logos in Christ must have rested wholly on the passage referred to. Accordingly, Justin speaks in language similar to that of St. John, of "the Logos having been made flesh." ‡ He has, likewise, other conceptions and turns of expression apparently derived from John's Gospel. He represents John the Baptist as having said, "I am not the Christ."§ He justifies Christians for not keeping

* See before, pp. 116-120.

† See before, p. 131.

‡ Apolog. prim. p. 52. John i. 14.

§ Dial. cum Tryph. p. 332. John i. 20. iii. 28.

the Jewish Sabbath, "because God has carried on the same administration of the universe during that day as during all others;" * a thought so remarkable, that there can be little doubt that he borrowed it from what was said by our Saviour, when the Jews were enraged at his having performed a miracle on the Sabbath:—"My Father has been working hitherto, as I am working." † And, in the last place, he states that "Christ said, 'Unless ye be born again, ye cannot enter the kingdom of heaven;'" adding, with allusion to the words of Nicodemus, that "it is evidently impossible for those once born to enter into their mother's womb." ‡

II. That Justin made use of the Gospels, appears from the fact, that there is no intimation to the contrary in the whole numerous succession of subsequent Christian fathers. We have the evidence of Eusebius in the fourth century, and of Photius in the ninth, that his works were well known and held in high esteem. They are referred to with respect by several of the principal fathers. But his quotations excited no attention, as presenting any unexpected appearance, or as a matter of any difficulty or curiosity. If he had quoted histories of Christ different from the Gospels, it is incredible that the fact should have escaped the knowledge of all ancient writers after his time; or that, being known, it should not have been adverted to.

III. The description given by Justin of the books which he used, shows that those books were the Gospels. He appeals to several books. He speaks, not of one, but of several authors. "Those," he says, "who have written memoirs concerning everything relating to our Saviour Jesus Christ, whom we believe;"—"Memoirs, which I affirm to be composed by the Apostles of Christ and their companions;"—"Memoirs composed by the Apostles which are called Gos-

* Dial. cum Tryph. pp. 194, 195. † John v. 17.
‡ Apolog. prim. p. 89. John iii. 3, 4.

pels."* These passages, taken in connection, appear without any other evidence to be decisive of the point in question. It is hardly to be contended, that books extant in the time of Justin, which were called Gospels, and which were written, or were supposed to be written, by Apostles of Christ and their companions, could be any other than our present Gospels. †

IV. The manner in which Justin speaks of the character and authority of the books to which he appeals, of their reception among Christians, and of the use which was made of them, proves these books to have been the Gospels. They carried with them the authority of the Apostles. They were those writings from which he and other Christians derived their knowledge of the history and doctrines of Christ. They were relied upon by him as primary and decisive evidence in his explanations of the character of Christianity. They were regarded as sacred books. They were read in the assemblies of Christians on the Lord's day, in connection with the Prophets of the Old Testament. Let us now consider the

* See before, pp. 128, 130.

† It deserves remark, that Justin, besides saying that the books he used were called Gospels, twice speaks of "the Gospel" in the singular, using the article.

He represents Trypho as saying (p. 156):—"I know also that your precepts in what is called the Gospel are so wonderful and weighty, as to cause a suspicion that no one may be able to observe them. For I have taken the pains to read them."

In the other passage referred to, he quotes (p. 352) Matthew xi. 27, as being "written in the Gospel."

In both passages, the force of the article in Greek is the same as in English. By "the Gospel" must be meant some particular, well-known book. But it is not to be imagined, that, in the time of Justin, any history of Christ, not one of the four Gospels, was thus preëminently distinguished above them by the title of "the Gospel," or that any one of the four Gospels was so distinguished from the other three. No conclusion remains, but that Justin used the term "the Gospel" in a sense familiar to the fathers who succeeded him, as denoting the four Gospels collectively, and consequently the volume in which they were brought together.

I have not introduced this argument into the text, because it is rendered unnecessary by the decisive character of the other more striking considerations which apply to the question at issue.

manner in which the Gospels were regarded by the contemporaries of Justin. Irenæus was in the vigor of life before Justin's death; and the same was true of very many thousands of Christians living when Irenæus wrote. But he tells us, that the four Gospels are the four pillars of the church, the foundation of Christian faith, written by those who had first orally preached the Gospel, by two Apostles and two companions of Apostles.* It is incredible that Irenæus and Justin should have spoken of different books. We cannot suppose that writings, such as the Memoirs of which Justin speaks, believed to be the works of Apostles and companions of the Apostles, read in Christian churches, and received as sacred books of the highest authority, should, immediately after he wrote, have fallen into neglect and oblivion, and been superseded by another set of books. The strong sentiment of their value could not so silently, and so unaccountably, have changed into entire disregard, and have been transferred to other writings. The copies of them spread over the world could not so suddenly and so mysteriously have disappeared, that no subsequent trace of their existence should be clearly discoverable. When, therefore, we find Irenæus, the contemporary of Justin, ascribing to the four Gospels the same character, the same authority, and the same authors, as are ascribed by Justin to the Memoirs quoted by him, which were called Gospels, there can be no reasonable doubt that the Memoirs of Justin were the Gospels of Irenæus.

We shall next consider a portion of the evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels, to be gathered from a still earlier period.

* See before, p. 84, seqq.

CHAPTER III.

EVIDENCE OF PAPIAS. ST. LUKE'S OWN TESTIMONY TO THE GENUINENESS OF HIS GOSPEL.

BETWEEN the death of St. John and the time when Justin wrote, an interval, probably, of about fifty years, there were very few Christian writers of whose works any remains are extant. It was a period of distress and confusion. Our religion, left upon the death of that Apostle without any powerful and distinguished advocate, was struggling for establishment against the opposition and persecution of the world. A great revolution was taking place in the minds of those who had been acted upon by the preaching of the Apostles. Their opinions, like their circumstances, were unsettled. The separation or the union, which was afterwards effected, between ancient errors and the new doctrines of our faith, was as yet undecided. Our religion had not assumed among its professed followers a well-defined character; and its sublime truths were not so fully comprehended as when men had become more familiar with the conception of them. It had not yet secured possession of the minds and hearts of many converts well qualified by their literary eminence to explain and defend it. These causes will account for the few remains of writers from among the catholic Christians during this period; and for the absence of any historical notice of the Gospels, which has come down to our times, except that of Papias.

Papias I have already had occasion to mention.* He lived, it may be recollected, during the first quarter of the second

* See before, pp. 37, 38, and pp. 75, 76.

century; and was acquainted, as he informs us, with many of the disciples of the Apostles. He wrote a work, now lost, but of which some fragments are preserved by Eusebius. In this work, as quoted by Eusebius, Papias mentions the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. He says, that he received much information from John the Presbyter; and gives the following account, as derived from him.

"The Presbyter said, that Mark, being the interpreter of Peter, carefully wrote down all that he retained in memory of the actions or discourses of Christ; not, however, in order, for he was not himself a hearer or follower of the Lord, but, afterwards, as I said, a companion of Peter, who taught in the manner best suited to the instruction of his hearers, without making a connected narrative of his discourses concerning the Lord. Such being the case, Mark committed no errors, in thus writing some things from memory; for he made it his sole object not to omit any thing which he had heard, and not to state any thing falsely."*

Of Matthew, Papias says:—"Matthew wrote the oracles in the Hebrew language; and every one interpreted them as he was able."†

It appears from these passages, that the Gospels of Matthew and Mark were well known before the time of Papias, that they were attributed to those writers, and, being regarded as authentic, were venerated as oracles.

In the commencement of the Acts of the Apostles, we have Luke's own testimony to the genuineness of his Gospel. The historical proof that the first-mentioned work was written by him is confirmed by other evidence, so satisfactory, as to leave no reasonable doubt on the subject.‡ We have, then, Luke's own testimony that he was the author of a history of Christ. But as no one will adopt so absurd a supposition, as that the history which he wrote has been lost, and another

* Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii. c. 39. † Ibid.

‡ See before, pp. 103, 104.

substituted in its place, the work of which he speaks must be our present Gospel.

But Luke's testimony not only establishes the genuineness of his Gospel; it has a further bearing. There is a striking resemblance between his Gospel and those of Matthew and Mark. There are, likewise, many striking points of resemblance between the character and situation of the former writer, and the two latter. They had similar opportunities for information respecting all the common objects of knowledge; the influences of our faith had produced in them similar feelings and conceptions; they were all placed in circumstances the most extraordinary, and peculiar to a few individuals; they all belonged to the small class of the first missionaries of our religion. One of them is supposed to have been an eye-witness of many of the facts, and a hearer of many of the discourses, which he records; and the other two are believed to have derived their information from those who, like him, were companions of our Lord. When, therefore, we find that a work of a very remarkable character was written by Luke, and that two other works distinguished by the same characteristics are ascribed to Matthew and Mark, there arises a strong presumption, that they have been ascribed to their true authors. No objection can be brought against the genuineness of the two latter histories, stronger than those which may be adduced against the genuineness of the former. In one case, we find that these objections are unfounded; we have, therefore, good reason to believe that they are equally unfounded in the other.

Here, likewise, we should recur to the considerations before presented,* which show that the proof of the genuineness of any one of the Gospels involves the proof of the genuineness of all. The argument that has been brought forward, when reduced to its simplest form, is nothing more than an obvious

* See before, pp. 116-120.

truth, which may be thus stated. Supposing any body of men to possess an account of events, esteemed by them of the greatest interest to themselves and to the world, to know that this account was the work of an author whom they hold in the highest respect, to believe him to have had the most satisfactory means of information, and to regard his work, *therefore*, as entitled to the fullest credit, and, still more, to a sacred character; and supposing them, further, to be placed in circumstances, which alone, even without any careful scrutiny on their part, almost exclude the possibility of deception; —these men will not receive, as likewise entitled to the fullest credit, and to a sacred character, another account, a fraudulent work, falsely ascribed to some venerated name, falsely pretending to an authority to which it has no claim, and, at the same time, in more or fewer respects, irreconcilable with that which has been received as the truth.

The Gospel of Luke, then, came down from the apostolic age as his work, with his own attestation to its genuineness. This being so, the other three Gospels could not have obtained reception as sacred books, in common with it, if they had not been the works of the authors to whom they were ascribed.

Confining our view merely to the evidence presented in this chapter, we may regard the result of it under still another aspect. Luke testifies to the genuineness of his own Gospel; Papias to that of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark; it follows that the authority of all three was established in the time of Papias. Now this was a period but just after the death of St. John, when thousands were living who had seen that last survivor of the Apostles, many, perhaps, who had made a pilgrimage to Ephesus to behold his countenance and listen to his voice, and hundreds who belonged to the church over which he had presided in person. It is incredible, therefore, that, before the time of Papias, a spurious gospel should have been received as his work; and after the time of Papias,

when the authority of the first three Gospels was established, the attempt to introduce a gospel falsely ascribed to St. John must have been, if possible, still more impracticable.

Here, then, we finish the statement of the direct historical evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels from their reception by the great body of Christians.* We will hereafter consider what may be inferred from the use made of them by the earlier heretical sects.

* It has been customary, in treating the subject before us, to allege the supposed testimony of certain writings ascribed to contemporaries of the Apostles, and called writings of Apostolical Fathers. But nothing has, in my opinion, contributed more to give a false and unfavorable impression of the real nature and strength of the evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels. On this subject, see Additional Note, F.

CHAPTER IV.

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE DIRECT HISTORICAL EVIDENCE OF THE GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPELS.

SUCH as we have seen is the direct historical evidence of the genuineness of the Gospels. The confirmation it receives from the manner in which they were regarded by the earlier heretical sects is still to be considered, and, likewise, all that proof to be derived from the Gospels themselves, which makes it evident, that they could have been written only by individuals bearing the character, and placed in the circumstances, of those to whom they are ascribed. For the present, we confine our attention to the direct historical evidence alone.

In regard to this, the nature of the case is such, that no evidence of the same character, or of the same weight, can be produced for the genuineness of any other ancient work, which was not, like them, received as an undisputed book of the Christian Scriptures. It is the testimony of a great, widely-spread, and intelligent community, to a fact about which they had full means of information, and in which they had the deepest interest. It is their testimony to the genuineness of books, the reception of which as authentic would change the whole complexion of their lives; and might, not improbably, put at hazard life itself, or all that they had before considered as rendering life desirable. It is the testimony of Gentiles to their belief of the genuineness and truth of books derived from Jews,—books regarded with strong dislike by a great majority of that nation; three of which were not in common use among those few Jews who, like them, were disciples of Christ; and all of which were so

stamped throughout with a Jewish character, as to be likely, at first view, strongly to offend their prejudices and tastes.

But the peculiar nature and value of this testimony may be laid out of consideration. The fact alone, that the four Gospels were all received as genuine books, entitled to the highest credit, by the whole community of catholic Christians, dispersed throughout the world, admits of no explanation, except that they had always been so regarded. We have begun by reasoning from their reception during the last quarter of the second century; and their reception at that time affords, as we have seen, decisive proof of the estimation in which they must have been held during the whole preceding interval from their first appearance. But, though we may entitle this proof decisive, yet, like all other probable reasoning, it admits of confirmation; and we have seen the confirmation afforded by the evidence of Justin Martyr, who gives direct proof, that the authority of the Gospels was established among Christians before the middle of the second century. I say before the middle of the second century,—for though this was the precise time when he wrote his first Apology, yet his testimony must be considered as relating to a state of things with which he had been previously conversant. We have next remarked the express and particular testimony of Papias to the genuineness of two of the Gospels, and to the estimation in which they were held by Christians. Then, tracing the stream of evidence back to its very source, we have seen Luke's own attestation to the genuineness of his Gospel. And in connection with this, and with the testimony of Papias, we have attended to the fact, that the acknowledged genuineness of any one of the Gospels must have presented an insuperable barrier to the reception of any spurious gospel as a work of like authority. The testimony to the genuineness of any one of the Gospels is virtually a testimony to the genuineness of all; and the testimony to their

genuineness is a testimony to their reception by all catholic Christians wherever they had become known.

But, in regard to our present argument, it is unimportant what period an objector may fix upon for the general reception of the Gospels as genuine. The later the period assigned for this event, the more obviously incredible does it become that it should have taken place, on the supposition that the Gospels were not received from the beginning in the character which they afterwards bore. The longer the Christian community had existed without a knowledge of the Gospels, or without a belief in their genuineness, the more difficult must it have been to produce this belief, and to cause them to be recognized as books of the highest value and authority. Let us suppose that they were not so regarded till the last quarter of the second century. Their general recognition at that period becomes a most remarkable phenomenon. Some very effective cause or causes must be assigned for it, sufficient to explain how four spurious books, not before known, or known only to be rejected, should suddenly have obtained universal acceptance throughout the Christian world, as containing the truths fundamental to a Christian's belief. No trace of any causes capable of producing this result can be discovered or imagined. In the nature of things, it is impossible that such causes should have existed. The Christians of that age professed to receive the Gospels as genuine and authentic, on the ground that they had always been so regarded. The truth of this fact is the only explanation which can be given of the universal respect in which they were then held.

It appears, therefore, that the evidence of the genuineness of the Gospels is of a very different character from what we are able to produce for the genuineness of any ancient classical work. Very few readers, I presume, could at once recollect and state the grounds on which we believe the Epistles to Atticus to have been written by Cicero, or the History of the Peloponnesian War by Thucydides. But should any writer

undertake to impugn the genuineness of these, or of many other ancient works that might be named, in the manner in which attempts have been made to weaken the historical argument for the genuineness of the Gospels, he would hardly succeed even in gaining a discreditable notoriety.

But there are objections derived from the Gospels themselves, which are relied upon as doing away the whole force of the historical argument. It is urged, that the contents of one Gospel are irreconcilable with those of another, and, therefore, that the Gospels could not be the works of well-informed narrators. By the opponents of Christianity, the errors of theologians are commonly confounded with the truths of our religion; and, so far as the objection just mentioned rests on any tenable grounds, it bears, not against the authenticity and genuineness of the Gospels, but against the doctrine that they were written by miraculous inspiration. It would be an extraordinary fact, if these books presented on their face decisive objections to their own credibility which had been overlooked for eighteen centuries by intelligent Christians engaged in their study. To any one, indeed, who is capable of a just apprehension of the proof of the genuineness of the Gospels, afforded by their intrinsic character, nothing can appear more idle than such an attempt to prove, from their contents, that they could not have been written by the authors to whom they are ascribed.

But there is another objection drawn from the essential character of the Gospels, which is, in fact, the root, and furnishes the sap and strength of all others which have been urged against them. They contain the history of a miraculous dispensation; and a miracle, it is asserted, is impossible.

This objection, if it can be maintained, is final, not merely in regard to the truth of the Gospels, and the truth of Christianity, but in regard to the truth of all religion.

The assertion, that a miracle is impossible, and, conse-

quently, that such a miraculous intervention of the Deity as Christianity supposes, is impossible, must rest for support solely on the doctrine, that there is no God; but that the universe has been formed and is controlled by physical powers essential to its elementary principles, which, always remaining the same, must always produce their effects uniformly according to their necessary laws of action. This being so, a miracle, which would be a change in these necessary laws, is, of course, impossible.

But when we refer the powers operating throughout the universe to one Being, as the source of all power, and ascribe to this Being intelligence, design, and benevolence, that is, when we recognise the truth, that there is a God, it becomes the extravagance of presumptuous folly to pretend, that we may be assured, that this Being can or will act in no other way than according to what we call the laws of nature; that he has no ability, or can have no purpose, to manifest himself to his creatures by any display of his power and goodness which they have not before witnessed, or do not ordinarily witness.

The assertion, therefore, that a miracle is impossible, can be maintained by no coherent reasoning, which does not assume for its basis, that all religion is false; that its fundamental doctrine, that there is a God, is untrue. The controversy respecting it is not between Christianity and atheism, it is between religion, in any form in which it may appear, and atheism.

One may, indeed, give the name of God to the physical powers operating throughout the universe, considered collectively, or to some abstraction, as the moral law of the universe, for example, or to some conception still more unsubstantial and unintelligible, and thus contend that he does not deny the existence of God. But there is but one view which an honest man can take of the deception which in this and other similar cases has been attempted through a gross abuse of words, by which their true meaning is razed

out, and a false meaning forced upon them. In contending with irreligion, we have a right to demand that we shall not be mocked with the language of religion.

But the fact has been overlooked, that, supposing the proposition to be admitted, that a miraculous intervention of the Deity is impossible, it would have no bearing on our immediate subject. No inference could be drawn from it to show that the Gospels were not written by those to whom they are ascribed.

The first disciples of our Lord, the first preachers of his religion, whether their account was true or false, taught that he was a messenger from God, whose authority was continually attested by displays of divine power, superseding the common laws of nature. They represented Christianity only under the character of a dispensation wholly miraculous. It has come down to us bearing this character from the first accounts we have of its annunciation,—from the time when St. Paul wrote those Epistles, the genuineness of which cannot be questioned. The fact that Christianity is a miraculous dispensation was the basis of his whole teaching, and equally of the teaching of the other Apostles. It cannot be pretended, that any indication is to be found of its having been presented to men under another character. The effects which followed its preaching are such as could have resulted only from such a conception of it. The hypothesis, therefore,—for such an hypothesis has actually been put forward,*—that this was not the original character of Christianity,—that its first preachers did not announce it as a miraculous dispensation, but that some time during the lives of the Apostles, or immediately after, it assumed this character,—can be regarded only as one of the most extraordinary of those exhibitions of human folly which have lately been given to the world as speculations concerning our religion. There is no doubt, that the Apostles and their companions repre-

* By Strauss, in his Leben Jesu (Life of Jesus).

sented Christ as a messenger from God, whose divine authority was attested throughout his ministry by miracles. It can, therefore, be no objection to the genuineness of the Gospels, that such is the representation to be found in them. Whether true or false, it is the only representation that was to be expected in histories of Jesus given by Apostles and their companions.

The Gospels, then, contain that view of Christianity which was presented by its first preachers. We have in these books that solemn attestation which was borne by them, and was confirmed by circumstances that exclude all doubt of its truth, to facts in the ministry and character of Christ which evince his divine mission. And to this nothing is objected but a speculation, which supposes that all religion must be false.

In regard to men's belief in Christianity, and their apprehension of its character, the present is an age of transition. We are leaving behind us the errors and superstitions of former days, with all their deplorable consequences,—the domination of a priesthood, tyranny over reason, persecution, false conceptions of morality by which its sanctions were often wholly perverted, and that disgust toward Christianity which the deformed image bearing its name, and set up for idol-worship, was so fitted to produce. But through a revulsion of feeling, occasioned by this state of things, many of the clergy, particularly in England,—one is reluctant to say many priests, though this is a title which they readily assume,—have turned about, and are travelling back into the dark region of implicit faith, Jesuitical morality, and religious formalities, absurdities, and crimes. On the other hand, there is a multitude of speculatists, who, in the abandonment of religious error, have abandoned religion itself, and whose only substitute for it, if they have any, is an unsubstantial spectre which they have decorated with its titles. Meanwhile,

very many enlightened men, who have been repelled from the study of Christianity by the imbecility or folly of those who have assumed to be its privileged expositors and defenders, regard it, at best, only with a certain degree of respect, as being, perhaps, a noble system, if properly understood, and one the belief of which, even under the forms that it has been made to assume, is, at all events, useful to the community:— *Magnifica quidem res et salutaris, si modo est ulla.*

In order that we may pass from this state of things to a better, it is necessary that the intellect of men should be awakened and brought to exercise itself on the most important subject that can be presented to its examination. The result would be a rational and firm faith in Christianity, with all the consequences that must flow from such a faith. The convictions which rest on reason are of very different efficacy from the impressions produced through prejudice, imagination, or passion. The latter may lead to great evil; the former can produce only good. There is a sense of reality attending the convictions of reason, which makes it impossible that they should not penetrate into the character. Let any one, in the best exercise of his understanding, be persuaded that the history of Jesus Christ is true, that the miracle of his mission from God, which belongs to the order of events lying beyond the sphere of this world, and concerning the whole of man's existence, is as real as those facts which take place in this world, conformably to the narrow circle of its laws with which we are familiar, and he has become intellectually, and can hardly fail to become morally, a new being. In recognizing that fact, he recognizes his relation to God, or rather, if I may so speak, God's relation to him. Life assumes another character. It is not a short period of existence in which we are to confine our views and desires to what may be attained within its limits. It is a state of preparation for a life to come, which will continue into an infinity where the eye of the mind is wholly incapable of following its course. Viewed in the broad light which

thus pours in upon us, their false coloring disappears from the objects of passion, and we perceive that there is nothing permanently good, but what tends to the moral and intellectual progress of the soul, and nothing to be dreaded as essentially evil, but what tends to impede it.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

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NOTE A.

(See p. 15.)

FURTHER REMARKS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE TEXT OF THE GOSPELS.

SECTION I.

Introductory Statement.

IN this note it is my intention to show the great extravagance of the language, which has been used by Griesbach and others, concerning the diversities of the text in different copies of the New Testament. In doing this, I must treat of the system of classifying those copies, which has been connected with, and has principally given occasion to, the language referred to. I shall then notice all the more important passages in the Received Text of the Gospels, which seem to me probably spurious. But as the criticism of Matthew's Gospel depends in part on the language in which it was originally written, and upon the question, whether it was the Gospel used by the Hebrew Christians, I previously shall state the reasons for believing it to have been written in Hebrew and to have been used by those Christians.

SECTION II.

On the systematic Classification of the Copies of the New Testament, adopted by Griesbach and others; and the Language concerning the Diversities among those Copies, with which it has been connected.

Griesbach divides the authorities for settling the text of the New Testament into three principal classes, called by him *recensiones*, "recensions" or "critical editions." He regards the manuscripts,

versions, and quotations, belonging to any one of these classes, as more or less conformed to a standard text, different from that of either of the other two classes. The grounds of this classification are explained by him in the third section of the Prolegomena to his edition of the New Testament. "That two different recensions," he says, "were in existence at least as early as the beginning of the third century, is evident *from a comparison of the quotations of Origen with those of Tertullian and Cyprian.* The Greek text implied in the quotations of the latter is different in its whole conformation and entire coloring (*toto suo habitu universoque colore*) from that which was used by Origen, and, before him, by Clement of Alexandria. The former text [that of the Latin fathers, Tertullian and Cyprian] is found in those manuscripts in which the Greek original is accompanied with a Latin version, in the copies of the Latin version which preceded the Vulgate, in that portion of the Vatican manuscript which contains the Gospel of Matthew," in seven other more modern manuscripts enumerated by Griesbach, "in the Sahidic version, and the Syriac of Jerusalem." The latter text, that of Origen, is found, according to the statements of Griesbach in his different writings, in the Ephrem manuscript, in the manuscript of the Gospels called Codex Stephani η, in the Vatican, with the exception of the first and greater part of Matthew's Gospel, in that part of the Alexandrine which contains the Epistles of Paul, in a few other manuscripts of later date (though in these in a more corrupt state), in the Coptic, Æthiopic, Armenian, and Philoxenian-Syriac versions, and in the quotations of Eusebius, Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria, Isidore of Pelusium, and others. This text, being used by Clement and Origen, who flourished at Alexandria, and generally at Alexandria and throughout Egypt, may be called the *Alexandrine.* The other text, being from the time of Tertullian used throughout the West in the Latin Church, may be called the *Western.* "It was not, however," says Griesbach, "confined within the bounds of the Western Empire, as appears from the agreement between it and the Sahidic version and the Syriac of Jerusalem, which, though not constant, is frequent." But, besides these two more ancient texts, he supposes a third, which is first found in the quotations of the Greek Fathers who flourished about the close of the fourth century, and during the fifth and sixth. It is to be distinguished into its earlier and later forms; and in one or the other is found in a great majority of manuscripts, and appears in the Gothic version, and also in the Sclavonic, though the copies of the latter differ

often from each other. It prevailed in the Patriarchy of Constantinople, and was thence spread over the Christian world. It may therefore be denominated the *Constantinopolitan* or *Byzantine*.

The characteristics of these three different texts, as given by Griesbach, are as follows.

"The Western text preserves genuine readings of a harsher kind, remote from the analogy of the Greek language, Hebraisms, solecisms, cacophonies; by all which Western readers would be less offended. In the Alexandrine recension, there appears a disposition to remove or alter whatever might be offensive to the ear of a native Greek. The Western endeavours to explain the sense, and render it more obvious by interpretations, periphrases, additions sought from all quarters (*additamentis undecunque conquisitis*), and by transpositions of words and sentences. It is the object of the Alexandrine to improve the language, rather than to illustrate the meaning. The Western presents us with longer readings, it has more words, it contains additions derived from parallel passages; but it also sometimes omits words, which seem to obscure the sense, or to be contradictory to the context, or to what is found elsewhere; in all which respects the Alexandrine is the purer text. In a word, in the Alexandrine text we discover the work of a grammarian, in the Western that of an interpreter." "In all the particulars which have been mentioned, the Byzantine corresponds much with the Alexandrine, differing from it only in discovering yet more regard to purity of language, and in admitting readings from the Western text different from the Alexandrine, or readings compounded of those found in both texts." "The origin," says Griesbach, "of these different recensions, in the deficiency of ancient documents and testimony, cannot be historically explained."

In remarking upon what has been quoted, I will first notice the exaggerated language used by Griesbach, very remote from the sober statements to be expected in a mere critical disquisition. The Western text, he says, differs from the Alexandrine "in its whole conformation and entire coloring." Let us, in the first place, compare this with his own language, found elsewhere. The Cambridge manuscript is regarded by Griesbach as containing the Western text, and the Codex Stephani η as one of those which have preserved the Alexandrine. In comparing the readings of these manuscripts, and of Origen, he says:—

"From the frequent agreement of the Cambridge manuscript with

the Codex Stephani η, and Origen, it appears that the most ancient Western recension agreed with the Alexandrine in innumerable places;"* this, of course, must mean, in innumerable variations from the Received Text.

But the comparison here instituted between the two supposed texts, though it leads to the conclusion just quoted respecting their agreement with each other, cannot be regarded as a fair one. The Cambridge manuscript cannot be considered as belonging to any class of manuscripts, so as to be a correct representative of their standard text. It has a peculiar character. A part of the title of one of the chapters in Father Simon's "Critical History of the Text of the New Testament," is this: "*Why is the Cambridge manuscript so different from other Greek copies?*" "I suspect," says Bishop Middleton, "that all the collated manuscripts put together do not contain one half the readings in which the Codex Bezæ [the Cambridge manuscript] differs from the Received Text."† In the fourth chapter of St. John's Gospel (which I have taken without selection), there are, if I have counted rightly, seventy-seven various readings quoted by Wetstein from this manuscript, omitting one which is obviously an accidental error in the spelling of a word. Of these, thirty-seven appear to be found in no other Greek manuscript, and twenty-seven to be supported by no other authority of any kind.‡ The hypothesis of Matthæi respecting the origin of this manuscript, whether correct or not, sufficiently corresponds to the phenomena which it presents. "My suspicion respecting it," he says, "is this. Some Latin monk, having a moderate acquaintance with the Greek language, had written in the margin of his Greek New Testament, passages both from Greek and Latin fathers, which seemed to refer to particular passages of the New Testament. He had noted likewise various readings of some Greek and Latin manuscripts of the New Testament. He had added parallel passages of the sacred writings. From this miscellaneous collection, either he, or some other person, prepared a text according to his own judgment." "From such an exemplar, different from all others, the Cambridge manuscript was derived."§ It seems clear, that a manuscript of such a character can-

* Symbolæ Criticæ, Vol. i. pp. cxvii. cxviii.

† Middleton on the Greek Article; Appendix on the Cod. Bezæ.

‡ In making this computation, I have looked for coincident authorities in Griesbach as well as Wetstein.

§ Quoted by Middleton, ubi supra.

not properly be considered as a representative of any class of authorities. But the Cambridge manuscript (*occidentalium facile princeps*, as it is called by Griesbach) is a main pillar of the theory respecting a separate Western text, with its peculiar characteristics. How much it is so may appear from a passage in a work which Griesbach published in 1811, the year before his death, in which he says, "that there existed from the second and third centuries various recensions of the sacred text, one of which, as respects the Gospels, remains in D [the Cambridge manuscript], another in manuscripts B, C, L,* and another in manuscripts E, F, G, H, S,† and others."‡ Here the Cambridge manuscript is mentioned alone as the representative of the Western text.

We will now produce another passage from Griesbach. In the Epistles, he compares the readings of the Clermont manuscript, which he considers as, in this part of the New Testament, a representative of the Western text, with the Alexandrine authorities, Origen, the Ephrem manuscript, and the Codex Stephani η; and remarks:—"The Western recension, as far as we are acquainted with it from this manuscript, was nearly allied to the Alexandrine."§ We may compare this with the language used in his Prolegomena; and, in order to show more clearly the extravagance of the latter, we may blend the words of both sentences into one:—*The Western recension, so far as we are acquainted with it from this manuscript, was nearly allied to the Alexandrine, although it differed from it in its whole conformation and entire coloring.*

Again, the Vatican manuscript, except in the larger part of Matthew's Gospel, is one of Griesbach's principal Alexandrine authorities. In the Acts and the Epistles of St. Paul, he represents this and the Alexandrine and Ephrem as the chief guides in determining the Alexandrine readings.‖ But of this manuscript he says in his latest work:—"As to the Vatican manuscript, the basis of its text is altogether Alexandrine; but its frequent agreement with the Cambridge manuscript shows also, that it is everywhere allied to the Western copies."¶

* The Vatican, the Ephrem, and the Codex Stephani η.

† Manuscripts regarded by Griesbach as containing the Byzantine text.

‡ Comment. Crit. Partic. II. p. lxviii.

§ Symbolæ Crit. Vol. i. p. cxxxviii.

‖ Præfat. ad Vol. ii. Nov. Test.

¶ Comment. Crit. Partic. II. p. 203, note.

Griesbach's whole system of recensions was attacked as baseless by Matthæi, who, at the same time with him, was devoting himself to the criticism of the text of the New Testament. Matthæi was, I suppose, superior to Griesbach in learning, being more extensively acquainted with the Greek fathers, and the character of their quotations from the New Testament. He was a laborious scholar after the fashion of former days. But his temper was irritable, and his style in controversy coarse and jeering. There was much bitterness in his personal attacks, and horse-play in his raillery; both of which he introduced in the most unsuitable of all places, his notes and remarks in his editions of the New Testament. He was deficient in judgment and power of reasoning; and, even when his arguments were of weight, he was not patient enough to present them in such a manner as to give them their due force. His writings, therefore, produced little effect at the time; a great majority of German scholars siding with Griesbach, who avoided, in general, any direct controversy with his rough opponent.

But after the quotations I have given from Griesbach himself, respecting the near alliance of the supposed Alexandrine and Western texts, notwithstanding the great difference which he elsewhere states to exist between them, no one will be surprised to find, that later critics reject the distinction altogether, as having no foundation in the various readings of the early authorities for settling the text of the New Testament. Scholz, who, after having spent several years in the collation of manuscripts, published, in 1830 and 1836, the two volumes of his critical edition of the New Testament, says:—"There is no ground for distinguishing between those which have been called Alexandrine and those which have been called Western manuscripts. In my opinion they fall into one class. They all differ so much from one another, that if we regard any thing more than their general character, and undertake to separate them into classes according to their specific peculiarities, we must make as many classes as there are manuscripts." * So also Eichhorn, though he had previously adopted the classification of Griesbach,† yet, in the fourth volume of his Introduction to the New Testament, published just before his death, speaks of "the dream of two very early recensions, an Alexandrine and a Western," as having no

* Biblisch-kritische Reise (Travels for the Purpose of Biblical Criticism), pp. 178, 179. See also the Prolegomena to his N. T., cap. iii.

† Einleitung in d. N. T. i. 675, 676.

foundation in history; and maintains, that "in the earliest times what have been called the Alexandrine and Western readings were found intermingled; and that how often or how seldom, or in what way, any manuscript might differ from the original text, depended merely on accident, on the choice of the exemplar to be copied, on the character of the transcriber and corrector of the manuscript, and other similar considerations, and not upon any previous recension [critical edition of the New Testament]; unless the name of *recension* be given to every transcript." *

But the fact, that, instead of there being two early texts, widely differing from each other, there is truly no ground for distinguishing between an Alexandrine and a Western text, is, I think, established by the statements of Dr. Laurence (late Archbishop of Cashel). The quotations of Origen afford, according to Griesbach, the highest standard of comparison for the Alexandrine class. But, respecting these quotations, Dr. Laurence remarks as follows:—

"In order to ascertain the true character of the readings of Origen, the whole of them together, and not a partial selection, should be examined. With this impression, I have given all which a diligent

* P. 273.—I do not quote Semler as an authority to the same point, because his want of conscientiousness as a writer, his passion for new hypotheses, of which he furnished the germs of many that have since flourished for a time under the care of his successors, and the dogmatism, rashness, and inconsistency of his assertions, prevent any reliance upon his expressed opinions. But he was the immediate predecessor of Griesbach in maintaining the theory of recensions of the text of the New Testament; and it may be worth while to observe, that he also blends together as one the Alexandrine and Western recensions, which Griesbach represents as so different. Of the two ancient recensions which Semler imagines, one is called by him the Eastern, or that of Lucian; the other, according to him, was the Western, "prevailing also in Palestine and Egypt, and *found in the writings of Origen.*" "It is," he says, "*perfectly accordant* (ganz und gar einstimmig) with the oldest Latin version, the *Itala*, or whatever it was, that was in use before the Vulgate." Semler's notion of the identity of the text used in Egypt, and appearing in the writings of Origen, that is to say, the Alexandrine text of Griesbach, with what Griesbach calls the Western text, the text found, according to both, in the oldest Latin version, could not be more strongly expressed. But it is here to be remarked, that we are acquainted with no one particular Latin version which was in use before the Vulgate, and, therefore, that the assertion is made at random, that the text of such a version was *perfectly accordant* with some other text.—See Semler's "Vorbereitung zur theologischen Hermeneutik." Stuck III. Vorrede.

investigation enabled me to discover, in the Epistles of St. Paul, and have noted those which agree with other Alexandrine authorities, or with the Western, or with both. The total amount of his readings is *six hundred and nine*, out of which there are *two hundred and twenty-six* which coincide with either Western or Alexandrine authority, or with both. Of the remainder, many, indeed, not unfrequently accord with the Byzantine, but many more are perfectly insulated." "But, notwithstanding the great amount of this incongruous remainder, there are found a sufficient number of congruous readings for the purpose, at least, of a comparative examination.

"There occur *two hundred and twenty-six*, which coincide with one or both of the classes alluded to. Of these, *one hundred and eighteen* are supported by Western authority alone, *ninety* by both Western and Alexandrine united, and *only eighteen* by Alexandrine alone. Supposing the existence of an Alexandrine text, we may presume that Origen would frequently have associates of that description in *peculiar* readings; but this presumption is far from being warranted by fact. For in truth, the very reverse takes place; as, out of *two hundred and twenty-six* readings, Origen has but *eighteen* distinguishable from the Western text, in which he is joined by any other Alexandrine father. Nor even in this limited number of *eighteen* does he read in conjunction with more than *one* Alexandrine (sometimes with Clemens, and sometimes with Cyril), except in the following five instances: Rom. iii. 30; 1 Cor. iv. 13; viii. 8; Ephes. v. 25; Philip. i. 24; in which he receives a double support. On the other hand, his alliance with Western authority, in exclusion of the Alexandrine, is so intimate, that he reads with that alone, not *eighteen* but *one hundred and eighteen times*, a full moiety of the whole amount. Neither does he here often read with one or two, but generally (the source indeed being more prolific) with numerous associates." *

Besides Origen, Clement of Alexandria is another of Griesbach's principal Alexandrine authorities. Of Clement, however, he himself thus speaks in his last work:—"I readily concede, that he often quoted passages of the New Testament from the Western edition, and agrees wonderfully (*et consentire mirum in modum*) with the Cambridge manuscript. But he agrees also not unfrequently (*non raro consonat*) with

* Laurence's "Remarks upon the Systematical Classification of Manuscripts adopted by Griesbach," pp. 129-132.

manuscripts of the Alexandrine text, the Vatican, Ephrem, and Codex Stephani η; and this not only in passages where they give the same reading with the Cambridge manuscript, but in passages, also, where the Alexandrine authorities differ from the Western." *

It may appear, from what has been quoted, that Clement and Origen, though put forward as leaders in the cause, are but doubtful Alexandrines, and well disposed to go over to the enemy; or rather that they are both open traitors. More seriously, it is evident that there is no ground for distinguishing under the name *Alexandrine*, or in any other manner, the text which appears in their quotations from the text found in certain other authorities called *Western*.

But the language I have quoted from Griesbach concerning the difference between these two supposed texts could not be used with an approach to truth concerning the differences between the Greek text of any manuscripts of the New Testament, of which we have knowledge, or may infer the former existence from quotations and versions.

If we examine, for a few pages together, *all* the various readings collected by Wetstein and Griesbach, it is more probable than otherwise that we shall not meet with one of importance, I do not say as affecting the sense, but as affecting the character of the style. In speaking of the Cambridge manuscript, Middleton remarks, in a spirit of exaggeration similar to that of Griesbach:—"If we had, at the present day, no other Greek manuscript of the Gospels, almost every thing which the learned have determined respecting the style and language of the Evangelists would be wholly unfounded." † But what can be meant by such a remark? What proportion of the criticisms in Gataker "de Novi Instrumenti Stylo," so far as they relate to the Gospels, would cease to be applicable? How much of Vorstius "de Hebraismis" could be dispensed with in consequence? What proportion of Glasse's "Philologia Sacra" would the case supposed render useless? How many new words or new senses would it be necessary to add to the Lexicons of the New Testament; or how many now found in them would it be necessary to strike out? The whole amount of the difference between the text of the Cambridge manuscript and the corrected text of Griesbach, so far as it regards the characteristics of the style, consists in a few anomalous expressions, especially in an occasional

* Comment. Crit. pp. xlix. l. † Middleton, ubi supra.

improper use or neglect of the article, a circumstance not strange in a Greek manuscript written by a Latin transcriber; and, as I believe, in some other Latinisms, arising from the circumstance that the Greek text has been in certain passages conformed to some Latin text, though the existence of this last characteristic has been disputed by many modern critics. Middleton himself has furnished a collation of one chapter from this manuscript, and the most important various readings from two others. Every one may see to how little they amount, as affecting the style of the New Testament.

But this manuscript presents an extreme case. We can bring such language as we have quoted from Griesbach to a fairer test. The Byzantine text is regarded by him as of the least authority,—as the most corrupt. But this is the text, which, as found in the later and least valuable manuscripts of the class, was, according to him, the ground-work of the Received Text. His opinions concerning the latter are expressed in the first part of his Prolegomena to the New Testament. The following is the statement of another writer of his school of criticism, Bertholdt:—"The Received Text is such a wretched mixture,* as is not found in the most modern and most corrupted manuscripts of the New Testament. Its groundwork is the text found in very modern manuscripts."† On the other hand, it was the object of Griesbach, in his corrected text, to approximate to the original text as nearly as possible. Here, then, we have the two extremes, the purest and the most corrupt text. Let us compare them together, and see how great is the disagreement. There can be no question, that he would be thought to make a very wild assertion, who should say that Griesbach's text differed in its "whole conformation and entire coloring" from the Received Text. But in making this comparison we have brought together texts which, according to his hypothesis, should be most unlike,—the most pure, and the most corrupt. What then shall we say of such language as applied to the Alexandrine and the Western texts? Did either the Alexandrine or the Western text differ more than the Received Text from the original? If so, one or the other, or both, was more corrupt than the Received Text, contrary to all Griesbach's statements. If they differed less from this common standard, then their differences, when compared together, must have been small indeed.

* "Greulicher Mischmasch," literally, "shocking hotch-potch."

† Bertholdt's Historisch-kritische Einleitung, u. s. f. i. e. Historical and Critical Introduction to the Old and New Testaments, Part I. p. 356.

The amount of difference between the Received Text and the most correct, and the importance of the various readings of the New Testament, are subjects to which we shall again advert. Enough, perhaps, has been said to show how wholly unfounded is the language of Griesbach. I have remarked upon it thus particularly, not only on account of the authority of his name, but because assertions of a similar character are common in the writings of German critics. We will now take a further view of the theory with which it is connected, *the theory of ancient recensions of the text of the New Testament;* which, after being maintained by Griesbach, was extensively received, and has been variously modified by different writers. It was, however, as we shall see, virtually abandoned by Griesbach himself.

According to this theory, all the authorities of the Alexandrine, of the Western, and of the Byzantine class, or of any other classes which may be supposed, are respectively derived from a standard text, peculiar to that class, of which they are more or less faithful copies. Two different standard texts, according to Griesbach, existed before the close of the second century; and another was subsequently formed, from which the Byzantine authorities are derived. He uses, in denoting his classes, the word *recensio*, the meaning of which is "critical edition," and which implies the existence of a standard text formed with care. "A critic," says Griesbach, in explaining his system, "who, bringing together many manuscripts, or other helps, so remodels the text of any work as to cause it to differ in its whole conformation from the text of all other manuscripts, is to be considered as the author of a new *recension*." * He speaks of the "*ancient and native* readings" of the Alexandrine text.† He says, that "no manuscript of either recension (the Alexandrine or Western) has come down to us, which has not been interpolated in many places;"‡ "no recension is found in any remaining manuscript *such as it originally existed*."§ He speaks of "distinguishing the later interpolations and glosses from the *genuine and primitive* readings of either recension."‖ He says in one place,

* "Criticus, qui adhibitis codicibus pluribus, aliisve subsidiis, textum libri cujusdam ita refingit, ut habitu universo a cæterorum codicum omnium textu differat, novam recensionem elaborâsse censendus est."—*Curæ in Epist. Paulin.* Sect. I. § 17. See also what precedes and follows.

† Symb. Crit. I. p. cviii.

‡ Symb. Crit. I. p. cxix.

§ Prolegom. in N. T. Sect. III.

‖ Symb. Crit. I. p. cxx.

that the Alexandrine and Western recensions are *equally ancient*;* and in another, that the Western recension is *far the most ancient of all*.† In his last work, he adopts the opinion of Hug, that the Byzantine authorities are to be referred to a text which had been critically formed by Lucian;‡ or, in other words, that Lucian is the author of the Byzantine recension. But above all, it is the main principle of his criticism on the New Testament, that every authority is to be referred to its particular class, and regarded, in the first instance, merely as serving to determine the reading of the standard text of that recension to which it belongs. All the authorities of one class, as they are all derived from one standard text, are to be considered only as a single evidence. The comparative authority of the different recensions, each being considered as a single evidence, and their agreement or disagreement with each other, are alone to be *ultimately* regarded, in determining the probability of different readings from authority or external evidence. Our existing documents are *direct* authority, not for the original text of the New Testament, but only for the text of the recension to which they respectively belong.

In his "Introduction to the Old and New Testaments," Bertholdt explains at length the opinions of Griesbach, and ascribes to him "the immortal honour of having first fully comprehended, and clearly explained," the system of the classification of authorities. The foundations of this system he considers as immovable. Still, he regards it as in some respects defective and objectionable. "Griesbach's system of criticism," he says, "taking its commencement from the two oldest recensions, which had their origin in the last half of the second century, leaves untouched the long period from the composition of the writings of the New Testament to the middle of that century." He refers to an article in a German journal, written by Griesbach himself, in which Bertholdt says that Griesbach expressly professes "to have had no higher purpose than to restore the text, in all its essential parts, such as it existed in the two original collections, which were made, one of the Gospels called Εὐαγγέλιον, and the other of the Epistles called Ἀπόστολος." "As it regards the original text," says the too rhetorical critic, "he passes from the bounds of the *empirical* and throws himself into the arms of the *higher* criticism; judging of what was originally written only by the intrinsic goodness of the reading."§

* Symb. Crit. I. p. cxix.
† Comment. Crit. Partic. I. p. 68.
‡ Comment. Crit. Partic. II. p. lvii.
§ Bertholdt's Einleitung, Part I. p. 317.

Such are the accounts given by Griesbach and his followers, of the hypothesis of recensions of the New Testament; but what has been alleged from him is not consistent with what is found elsewhere in his writings. I will now quote from one of his earliest works, and from his latest; his *Curæ in Epistolas Paulinas*, and his *Commentarius Criticus*.

In the former, he supposes that the undisputed Epistles (*αἱ ὁμολογούμεναι*) were collected into a volume before the middle of the second century, though he expresses a doubt whether it were done so early. This collection was called *ὁ Ἀπόστολος* (the *Apostolos*). "It cannot be determined," he says, "whether the text of this collection was derived from the very originals, or from copies of particular Epistles, or from some partial collections. We may readily believe, that the editor transcribed one or two Epistles from the originals; but it is hardly probable that they were all so copied. It is enough for us, that the collection exhibited a sufficiently genuine text, and had no false readings which would either remarkably change the sense, or corrupt and deprave the doctrine of the Apostles. For, as the collection was received by all the catholic churches, not excepting those to whom the Epistles had formerly been written, we may infer that no one suspected the editor of changing or interpolating their text; but that this edition agreed with those copies, which, being taken from the originals, were already in the hands of many learned men before the collection was published." The Epistles being thus brought together into a volume, and the collection being published, copies of it were soon multiplied. But it is not probable, he says, that those more ancient manuscripts, which were in existence before its publication, were thrown aside or destroyed by their possessors. Every one retained that which he had before used, merely adding those Epistles which he found wanting in his copy. "From this time," continues Griesbach, "there were two sorts of manuscripts; one, the copies of those which existed before the collection, the *Apostolos*, was formed; and the other, copies of the latter, of the new edition." "Here, then," he says, "we discover, unless I am altogether deceived, *the origin of two different recensions!* Deprehendimus igitur, nisi nos fallunt omnia, *duarum recensionum diversarum incunabula!*" The Italics and the note of admiration are his own. The Latins, according to him, were more tenacious of the ancient manuscripts. The Greeks, among whom there were more ready transcribers of Greek, and among whom, therefore, a new Greek manuscript could be more

easily procured, gradually laid aside those obsolete copies, and adopted in their stead transcripts of the collection. "If the text of the *Apostolos* was freed by the editor from some Hebraisms, and forms of expression unusual among native Greeks, it might be more agreeable to them than that harsher Western recension in which they were retained. Into the latter, however, many glosses early found their way, but such as regarded the sense, more than the Greek idiom." Griesbach then proceeds to point out what he supposes the characteristics of these two classes of manuscripts, as they were propagated by transcribers. They are the same which he has assigned respectively to the Western and Alexandrine recensions, in his Prolegomena to the New Testament.*

Here, then, we have one of his earliest accounts of what he calls the Western and Alexandrine recensions. Its inconsistency with what we have before quoted is obvious. There was, according to this account, no Western *recension*, in the sense in which he elsewhere uses the term. There was no standard text for manuscripts of this class but the original text. It is to this, that the authorities belonging to the Western class, according to Griesbach's own statement, carry us back directly, without the intervention of any critical edition. The Alexandrine and Western texts are not equally ancient; the former was derived from the *Apostolos*, the latter from the originals. One of the only two more ancient recensions, which he supposes, is struck out. The existence, indeed, even of an Alexandrine *recension* seems not very confidently stated. But, allowing the existence of the latter, yet, according to what has been quoted, each manuscript of the Western class is to be referred to the original text as its archetype, and not to be regarded merely as determining the text of a subsequent critical edition.—It is not to my immediate purpose to insist on the fact, that the statements which we have quoted, so far as they imply any peculiar theory, are merely conjectural; though it may be worth while for every one studying the works of German scholars to attend well to the distinction between what is asserted and what is proved. All with which we are at present concerned is the inconsistency of those statements with Griesbach's principles of criticism.

In his *Commentarius Criticus*, the whole doctrine of two standard texts, the Western and Alexandrine, may be considered as abandoned.

* Curæ in Epist. Paulin. Sect. II. §§ 12-15.

In this work, he remarks upon a new theory, or rather upon a new modification of his own theory, proposed by Hug.* Hug supposes, that there were no *recensions* before the middle of the third century. Previously to that time, there existed only the *common edition*, ἔκδοσις κοινή, derived without intervention from the original text; and to this he refers the principal Western authorities, and the quotations of Clement and Origen; thus, like other critics, blending together Griesbach's Western and Alexandrine recensions. Upon this Griesbach remarks :—" In the first place, respecting the Western recension, or *the common edition*, there is a sufficient agreement between Hug and myself. I did not suppose that we were indebted for its original formation to the labor of any learned man, revising a copy before him, and settling the text by the collation of manuscripts according to his own judgment; but I rather supposed that it was derived from ancient copies of single books of the New Testament, or from partial collections of those books. Not a few manuscripts of this kind were in general circulation before the publication of the Εὐαγγέλιον (*Evangely*, collection of the Four Gospels) and the Ἀπόστολος (*Apostolos*), and were afterwards laid aside by the Greeks, but preserved by the Latins or Western Christians. But, although such was its origin, I did not hesitate to call the Western text a *recension*; partly, because, in works of criticism, mention is often to be made conjointly of the Alexandrine and Byzantine *recensions* and of the Western *text*, and therefore, for the sake of brevity, I thought that they might all not improperly be called by the common name of *recension*; partly, because I doubted whether it could be proved, by sufficient historical arguments, that the text of the other families, the Alexandrine and Byzantine, derived its origin, as regards either class, from the revision of any particular critic; and, lastly, because I was persuaded that the text of the Cambridge manuscript, which takes the lead among Western authorities, was transcribed from another, which some critic had diligently revised upon certain principles. For these reasons, I think I spoke without rashness of a Western *recension*."†

It is unnecessary to remark at length upon this passage. Griesbach, it seems, adopted the word "recension" in preference to "text" or "class," or "family," or any other, because it suited two of the subjects to which it was applied, though it did not suit the other; because he

* In the first volume of his Introduction to the N. T.

† Comment. Crit Partic. II. p. xliii. seqq.

doubted whether it was really more applicable to the two former than to the latter; and because, in his opinion, one manuscript, which he reckons of the Western class, actually exhibited a text, which might be called a recension.

Notwithstanding what has been quoted, however, Griesbach was still unwilling to give up the notion of a *recension*; and though he thinks that the Western text was not that of a recension, and that no account is to be given of the author of the Alexandrine, he adopts the opinion of Hug, that we are indebted to Lucian for the Byzantine. On this subject Hug spreads out at length his baseless and wearisome speculations. The same opinion is likewise maintained by Eichhorn, in an examination extending through many pages; though the sentences with which it begins and ends throw something of a ludicrous character over the whole. He speaks of Lucian in connection with another supposed editor of the New Testament, whom Hug had brought forward, Hesychius. "Unfortunately," says Eichhorn, in commencing, "*the Church* has preserved such an entire silence concerning these two men and their critical labors, that we should have no information whatever concerning their meritorious undertaking, if it were not for a few words of Jerome;"* and in concluding he says, that "upon the character of their texts not one poor word of testimony has come down to our times."† It is seldom that the scantiness of materials for framing an hypothesis has been so honestly avowed.

According to Jerome, Hesychius and Lucian each published an edition of the Septuagint, as Origen had done before them. The manuscripts of the Septuagint in the earlier times of Christianity varied much from each other; and a critical edition of it was, therefore, a praiseworthy labor; and is so spoken of by Jerome. The edition of Hesychius, he says, was used at Alexandria and in Egypt; that of Lucian, from Constantinople to Antioch; and that of Origen, in the provinces between.‡ Hesychius, of whom very little is known or conjectured, is supposed to be the same Hesychius who was a bishop of Egypt, and died a martyr in the persecution of Diocletian. Lucian, who is spoken of with great

* —"wenn nicht Hieronymus desselben mit ein paar Worten erwähnt hätte." Einleitung in d. N. T. iv. p. 276.

† Ib. p. 331.

‡ Præfat. ad Paralipom. Opp. i. 1023. Ed. Martianay. Advers. Rufinum, Lib. ii. Opp. iv. P. ii. col. 425.

respect, generally, by the more ancient writers who mention him, was a presbyter of Antioch, and suffered death in the same persecution.

Thus far we are informed only of *editions of the Septuagint* published by Lucian and Hesychius. In another place, Jerome says:—"Lucian so labored in the study of the Scriptures, that to this day some copies are called after his name." * But the notion, that he and Hesychius published *editions of the New Testament*, which, in common with their editions of the Septuagint, obtained general circulation, is founded upon another passage of Jerome, the meaning of which I believe to have been misconceived. It is in the Preface to his Latin translation of the Gospels.†

In this Preface, he says of the copies of the Latin versions of the New Testament extant when he wrote, that some passages had been incorrectly rendered by different translators, others more faultily emended by ignorant presumers, and others added or changed by negligent transcribers; that transcribers were accustomed to transfer into one Gospel what they found in another; and that there were almost as many different exemplars (of a Latin version) as there were manuscripts. This being the state of things, he had made a new translation of the Gospels. "Yet who is there," he asks, "whether learned or unlearned, who, when he takes my volume into his hands, and finds that what he reads differs from what he has been accustomed to, will not immediately break out against me as a falsifier, as sacrilegious, for daring to add or alter or correct any thing in the ancient books."

But, in addition to this, the Latin versions of the Old Testament had been made from the Septuagint, and Jerome thought that there should be a Latin version conformed to the original Hebrew, and thus further exposed himself to obloquy; since many regarded the Septuagint as an inspired version, the ultimate standard for the text of the Old Testament; while others, without deciding on the question of its inspiration, considered its authority as preëminent, and maintained that the introducing of new readings from the Hebrew into a Latin version of the Old Testament would only lead to evil.‡

* De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, cap. 77. Opp. iv. P. ii. col. 121.

† Opp. i. 1425.

‡ Vid. Augustini Epistolæ ad Hieronymum, ap. Hieron. Opp. iv. P. ii. 602, 610. Rufini Invect. in Hieron. Ib. col. 444, seqq. See also Jerome's Prefaces (Opp. i.) to Genesis, Joshua, Job, and other books translated by him from the Hebrew.

Such being the case, Jerome is speaking in his Preface, somewhat confusedly, of versions, both of the Old Testament and of the Gospels, and, in this connection, introduces the passage which has served for a foundation to the theory of widely-spread recensions of the New Testament, which had Lucian and Hesychius for their authors. Properly rendered it is, I believe, as follows:—

"I pass over those manuscripts, named after Lucian and Hesychius, which are perversely contended for by a few individuals, who allow of no correction in the Old Testament which deviates from the Septuagint, and admit of no advantage from any correction in the New, though the translations of the Scriptures previously made into the languages of many different nations show that what has been added is spurious." *

If this rendering be correct, the passage contains no reference to any *editions of the New Testament* by Lucian and Hesychius. The manuscripts named after them were copies of their *editions of the Septuagint*. The authority of those copies was contended for by individuals, who believed that the Septuagint should be regarded as of ultimate authority in determining the sense of the Old Testament, and that its text was correctly given by one or the other of those editors; and who, at the same time, from similar prejudices, were unwilling to allow that any advantage would result from a new translation of the New Testament. The spurious additions which Jerome speaks of were not in Greek copies of the New Testament, conformed to an edition by Lucian or by Hesychius, but were in Latin manuscripts of the New Testament,—being those which he has just before referred to.

But, as I have observed, the words of Jerome have been, in my opinion, misinterpreted, as implying that Lucian and Hesychius pub-

* "Prætermitto eos codices, quos, a Luciano et Hesychio nuncupatos, paucorum hominum asserit perversa contentio; quibus utique nec in Veteri Instrumento post septuaginta Interpretes emendare quid licuit, nec in Novo profuit emendasse; quum multarum gentium linguis Scriptura ante translata doceat falsa esse quæ addita sunt."

The passage has been understood as if *quibus* referred to Lucian and Hesychius; I conceive it to refer to *hominum*. The former reference being given to the relative, the passage is understood thus:—"I pass over those manuscripts, perversely contended for by a few individuals, which are named after Lucian and Hesychius, who had no right to vary from the Septuagint by making any alterations in the Old Testament, and gained nothing by any alterations in the New, since the translations of the Scriptures previously made into the languages of many different nations show that was has been added is spurious."

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lished editions of the New Testament, in which each made palpably spurious additions to the text; and that the credit of their copies was perversely maintained by a few individuals. If the passage be so understood, nothing would seem more hopeless than to erect on such a basis, a theory, that Lucian and Hesychius were the authors of two of the most important and widely-spread recensions of the New Testament. But this labor, which had been suggested by Semler, was accomplished by Hug. According to him, Lucian's recension is essentially what Griesbach calls the Byzantine, and that of Hesychius corresponds, in part, with Griesbach's Alexandrine. Hug, likewise, has found his followers; and Griesbach himself, as we have seen, adopted his theory respecting Lucian as the author of the Byzantine recension. But, in maintaining this theory, two particulars, the illustration of which is essential to its plausibility, have been overlooked. In the first place, according to the manner in which its defenders understand their only authority, Jerome, we know nothing of the internal character of the edition either of Lucian or Hesychius, but that it was distinguished by obviously spurious additions which Jerome rejected from his version. Now, Jerome's version being extant, if it be contended that any Greek manuscripts, Alexandrine or Byzantine, are to be referred to the supposed editions of Lucian and Hesychius, what is first to be done is to show, that they possess the only characteristic of those editions with which we are acquainted, namely, that they contain spurious additions not to be found in Jerome's version. This, however, has not been attempted. In the next place, it has not been explained how those editions could have been so widely circulated and so generally approved, when Jerome, whose testimony is all that can be produced in the case, is understood as affirming, that their authority was perversely maintained by a few; when he, the most learned father of his age, is believed to have censured them without reserve; and when no praise and no defence of them is anywhere to be found.

But it may be said, that admitting that Lucian was not the author of the supposed Byzantine recension, or of any other, and admitting that no Alexandrine nor Western recension existed, still there must have been a Byzantine recension; for, if we may trust the statements of those who have made the criticism of the text of the New Testament their particular study, there is an agreement among a majority of modern manuscripts written since the tenth century in a considerable

number of various readings, in which they differ from a majority of the most ancient authorities. But to this the answer is, that there is no difficulty in accounting for the phenomenon, without the supposition of a Byzantine *recension*, in the sense in which that term has been used. In every distinct region, where many copies of the Greek Testament were written, a prevalent text was likely to be formed, unlike in some slight shades to that prevalent elsewhere. In different places, the operation of different causes and accidents would produce dissimilar variations from the pure text. In the fourth or fifth century, the prevalent text at Constantinople was probably distinguishable from the prevalent text at Alexandria. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, without supposing the operation of any extraordinary causes, a text must have prevailed in the former city in some degree peculiar. But extraordinary causes were at that time, and had been long before, in operation, to form and to perpetuate a Byzantine text capable of being discriminated from any other. These causes are to be found in the circumstances of the Christian world.

Before the tenth century the Greek empire had been gradually sinking toward that state in which it was at last reduced, to use the words of Gibbon, "to a narrow corner of Europe, to the lonely suburbs of Constantinople;" though during that century it expanded itself again for a moment. The followers of Mahomet had twice besieged its metropolis. Beyond its limits the knowledge of the Greek language was rapidly disappearing; all Grecian literature, such as it was, flying from the Saracens and Northern barbarians, was taking refuge in Constantinople or its neighbourhood; and but few Greek manuscripts were written except within the walls of that city, or in the monasteries of Mount Athos, or others subject to the jurisdiction of its patriarch. A large majority of the manuscripts of the New Testament to be referred to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, concerning which we may ascertain where they were transcribed, either by a note in the manuscript itself, or other probable evidence, were copied at Mount Athos or Constantinople. Two of them were transcribed by patriarchs of the Greek church, both in the eleventh century, one by Sergius II., and the other by Michael Cerularius,* the two patriarchs who renewed and consummated the schism which separated the Greek church from the Roman.

* See the Catalogue of MSS. of the N. T. in Scholz's Prolegomena to his N. T., numbers 39 and 437.

At Mount Athos and at Constantinople transcribers, in the near neighbourhood of each other, may be supposed often to have used, in common, exemplars having the same text, or to have compared their respective texts together, and adjusted the one to the other. They were principally ecclesiastics, and, it is reasonable to suppose, wrote under ecclesiastical supervision; especially when we find two patriarchs so interested in the work as to take a share of the labor. There had likewise been a sort of revival of Greek literature at Constantinople; and the eleventh and twelfth centuries were distinguished for verbal critics, scholiasts, and commentators. The spirit of the age was likely to cause attention to be given to the minutiæ of various readings in the New Testament, and would lead, therefore, to the forming and preserving of a uniform text. But the manuscripts written in the Greek Patriarchy during the two centuries mentioned, and the copies which have been made from them, constitute a large majority of modern manuscripts. We are, therefore, without supposing any Byzantine recension, properly so called, able to account for the peculiarities of their text, and their great resemblance to each other, characteristics, it is to be observed, which belong only to a majority of modern manuscripts, and are far from being common to all. I may add, that, in accounting for the peculiarities of the more modern text, it is obvious that we account, at the same time, for those of the more ancient, since the latter are correlative to the former, consisting of passages in which the two texts vary from each other.

From what has been said, I think it evident, that the appearances in our authorities for settling the text of the New Testament afford no countenance to the theory of recensions, maintained by Griesbach and other critics; that there is no ground for a distinction between an Alexandrine and a Western text, of which Griesbach represents the difference as so great, and that the peculiarities of the Byzantine text may be explained without recourse to the supposition of a recension. The hypothesis is equally destitute of historical evidence; yet it is incredible that we should not have found in ancient authors frequent mention of those supposed recensions, if they had actually been made. So far from this, however, their existence is inconsistent with the few notices respecting the history of the text of the New Testament contained in the writers of the first four centuries. The Alexandrine recension is supposed by Griesbach to have been formed before the time

of Origen, and to have been followed by the Alexandrine transcribers, and quoted by the Alexandrine fathers. But, of the manuscripts of the New Testament, Origen says, in a passage already adduced for a different purpose:* —"It is evident that there exists much difference among copies; partly from the carelessness of some transcribers; partly from the rashness of others in altering improperly what they find written; and partly from those revisers who add or strike out according to their own judgment." This passage seems to afford sufficient proof, that there was in his time no standard corrected text at Alexandria, no late Alexandrine recension, which transcribers and correctors of manuscripts felt themselves bound to follow. Again, the Byzantine recension is supposed to have become prevalent a little before the time of Chrysostom. Yet, according to a passage quoted from him by Scholz, the most ancient copies were so eagerly sought after, and the sellers of manuscripts were so little disposed to have it thought that their copies were conformed to any new recension, that the fraud was practised of burying manuscripts, lately written, in a heap of grain, in order so to discolor them as to give them an appearance of antiquity. The same preference which we now have for the most ancient manuscripts, as approaching nearer the time of the autographs of the New Testament, and therefore being in general less likely to have suffered from the accidents of transcription, existed, as we might suppose, at an early period. Jerome, in the Preface to his Latin translation of the Gospels, says that he had corrected the errors before existing in the Latin copies by comparing together Greek manuscripts, that is, he proceeds to say, *ancient* manuscripts. Not a passage has been produced from any Christian writer of antiquity which speaks of a standard corrected text as of authority; nothing answering to the abundant mention in modern writers of the corrected texts of Griesbach, Koppe, and others; nor is there a notice of any collection and comparison of the various readings of the New Testament, or of any book of the New Testament.

We may conclude, then, that all our present authorities for settling the text of the New Testament are to be referred to the original text as their nearer or more remote standard, without the intervention of such recensions as have been supposed. This conclusion is important in regard to the history and criticism of the text of the New Testament,

* See before, pp. 44, 45.

and especially as strengthening our confidence, which the theory of Griesbach is adapted to weaken, in the genuineness and authority of such a corrected text as we have at the present day ample means of forming.

This confidence is still more likely to be weakened by the extravagant language of Griesbach, and other modern critics, respecting the differences among their imaginary recensions, or, what amounts to the same thing, among our authorities for settling the text of the New Testament. How extravagant this language is, has already appeared; but its want of any proper foundation may be made still more apparent. I propose, therefore, to add a few remarks on the character and importance of the various readings of the New Testament.

Section III.

On the Character and Importance of the Various Readings of the New Testament.

When attention was first strongly directed to the number of various readings *upon the Received Text* of the New Testament, and the critical edition of Mill was published, which was said to contain thirty thousand, * two classes of individuals were very differently affected. Some sincerely religious men, among whom was Whitby, who wrote expressly against the labors of Mill, were apprehensive that the whole text of the New Testament, the foundation of our faith, would be unsettled; while the infidels of the age, among whom Collins was prominent, were ready, with other feelings, to adopt the same opinion. The whole number of various readings of the text of the New Testament that have hitherto been noted exceeds a hundred thousand, and may, perhaps, amount to a hundred and fifty thousand.

But this number is, I presume, less in proportion, than that of the various readings extant upon most classic authors, when compared with the quantity of text examined, and the number of manuscripts and

* That is to say, thirty thousand variations from the Received Text. But when the Received Text varies from other authorities, its readings should also be considered as various readings of the text of the New Testament. Including these, therefore, Mill's edition presents about sixty thousand various readings.

other authorities collated in each particular case.* How such an amount of various readings exists upon the text of ancient works, we may understand, when we consider, what every one who has had experience on the subject is aware of, that no written copy of an exemplar

* Bentley, in his "Remarks on Free Thinking," in answer to Collins, says:—

"Terence is now in one of the best conditions of any of the classic writers; the oldest and best copy of him is now in the Vatican library, which comes nearest to the poet's own hand; but even that has hundreds of errors, most of which may be mended out of other exemplars, that are otherwise more recent and of inferior value. I myself have collated several, and do affirm that I have seen twenty thousand various lections in that little author, not near so big as the whole New Testament; and am morally sure, that if half the number of manuscripts were collated for Terence with that niceness and minuteness which has been used in twice as many for the New Testament, the number of the variations would amount to above fifty thousand.

"In the manuscripts of the New Testament, the variations have been noted with a religious, not to say superstitious, exactness. Every difference in spelling, in the smallest particle or article of speech, in the very order or collocation of words, without real change, has been studiously registered. Nor has the text only been ransacked, but all the ancient versions, the Latin vulgate, Italic, Syriac, Æthiopic, Arabic, Coptic, Armenian, Gothic, and Saxon; nor these only, but all the dispersed citations of the Greek and Latin fathers in a course of five hundred years. What wonder, then, if, with all this scrupulous search in every hole and corner, the varieties rise to thirty thousand? when, in all ancient books of the same bulk, whereof the manuscripts are numerous, the variations are as many or more, and yet no versions to swell the reckoning.

"The editors of profane authors do not use to trouble their readers, or risk their own reputation, by an useless list of every small slip committed by a lazy or ignorant scribe. What is thought commendable in an edition of Scripture, and has the name of fairness and fidelity, would in them be deemed impertinence and trifling. Hence the reader not versed in ancient manuscripts is deceived into an opinion, that there were no more variations in the copies, than what the editor has communicated. Whereas, if the like scrupulousness was observed in registering the smallest changes in profane authors, as is allowed, nay required, in sacred, the now formidable number of thirty thousand would appear a very trifle.

"It is manifest that books in verse are not near so obnoxious to variations as those in prose; the transcriber, if he is not wholly ignorant and stupid, being guided by the measures, and hindered from such alterations as do not fall in with the laws of numbers. And yet even in poets the variations are so very many as can hardly be conceived without use and experience. In the late edition of Tibullus by the learned Mr. Broukhuise, you have a register of various lections in the close of that book; where you may see at the first view that they are as many as the lines. The same is visible in Plautus set out by Pareus. I myself, during my travels, have had the opportunity to examine several manuscripts of the poet

of any considerable length, if made only with ordinary care, is without variations, and errors. Notwithstanding the extreme care which has in some cases been taken, it is doubtful whether even a printed book exists which corresponds throughout to its proposed archetype, or which, in other words, is wholly free from *errata*. There is no hazard in saying that the variations in the printed copies of King James's version of the Bible, such variations as are noted in the manuscripts of the New Testament, are to be reckoned by thousands; and if, as in the case of the Greek text of the New Testament, we were to take the quotations of different writers into account, by tens of thousands. But, in producing copies by transcription, the number of errors resulting will be vastly greater than in producing the same number of copies by the press; since far more liability to error will exist in the case of every particular copy transcribed, than exists in regard to a whole edition of printed copies. With these general views, it is not necessary to dwell on the particular causes of mistakes and errors in ancient manuscripts, which are more numerous than may at first thought be supposed. They have been often pointed out by different writers.

I proceed, then, to observe, that, of the various readings of the New Testament, nineteen out of twenty, at least, are to be dismissed at once from consideration,—not on account of their intrinsic unimportance,—that is a separate consideration,—but because they are found in so few authorities, and their origin is so easily explained, that no critic would

Manilius; and can assure you that the variations I have met with are twice as many as all the lines of the book."—Pp. 93-95, 8th Ed.

To take a few books immediately at hand, I perceive by a loose computation from a table at the end of Wakefield's Lucretius, that he has collected about twelve thousand various readings of that author (exclusive of mere differences of orthography), from five printed copies only. Weiske's edition of Longinus presents more than three thousand various readings of the Treatise on the Sublime, a work of about the length of the Gospel of Mark, collected from eight manuscripts and two early editions. And Bekker has published *variations from his text* of the writings contained in his edition of Plato, which fill seven hundred and seventy-eight crowded octavo pages, and amount to I know not how many more than sixty thousand; the manuscripts used on each of the different writings being on an average about thirteen. The various readings of the New Testament, it is to be remembered, have been collected from a very great number of manuscripts of the original, manuscripts of numerous ancient versions, in which it is not to be supposed that the translator always rendered in a manner scrupulously literal, and also from the citations of a long series of fathers, who, we know, were not commonly attentive to verbal accuracy in quoting.

regard them as having any claim to be inserted in the text. Of those which remain, a very great majority are entirely unimportant. They consist in different modes of spelling; in different tenses of the same verb, or different cases of the same noun, not affecting the essential meaning; in the use of the singular for the plural, or the plural for the singular, where one or the other expression is equally suitable; in the insertion or omission of particles, such as ἄν and δέ, not affecting the sense, or of the article in cases equally unimportant; in the introduction of a proper name, where, if not inserted, the personal pronoun is to be understood, or of some other word or words expressive of a sense which would be distinctly implied without them; in the addition of "Jesus" to "Christ," or "Christ" to "Jesus;" in the substitution of one synonymous or equivalent term for another; in the transposition of words, leaving their signification the same; in the use of an uncompounded verb, or of the same verb compounded with a preposition, the latter differing from the former, if at all, only in a shade of meaning; and in a few short passages, liable to the suspicion of having been copied into the Gospel where we find them from some other Evangelist. Such various readings, and others equally unimportant, compose far the greater part of all, concerning which there may be, or has been, a question whether they are to be admitted into the text or not; and it is therefore of no consequence in which way the question has been, or may be, determined.

But after deducting from the whole amount of various readings, first those of no authority, and next those of no importance, a number will remain which are objects of a certain degree of curiosity and interest. To three of them an extravagant importance has been attached, from their supposed bearing upon the theological doctrine of the Trinity. But the principal of these, the famous passage in the first Epistle of John (ch. v. 7), is a manifest interpolation. In the case of this and of most other passages, where the true reading is a matter of any interest, we may commonly arrive at a satisfactory judgment concerning it; and, in regard to the cases in which we cannot, it is clear that no opinion, nor any inference whatever, respecting the meaning of the writer, is to be founded on an *uncertain* reading.

The Received Text, as it has been called, of the New Testament, that is, the text which for almost two centuries, till after the time of Griesbach, was found with little variation in the common editions of the New Testament, was formed during the sixteenth century, with comparatively few helps, and in the exercise of no great critical judg-

ment. But the chief value of the immense amount of labor which has since been expended upon the text of the New Testament does not consist in its having effected improvements in the Received Text. Its chief and great value consists in establishing the fact, that the text of the New Testament has been transmitted to us with remarkable integrity; that far the greater part of the variations among different copies are of no authority or of no importance; and that it is a matter scarcely worth consideration, as regards the study of our religion and its history, whether, after making a very few corrections, we take the Received Text formed as it was, or the very best which the most laborious and judicious criticism might produce.

In his edition of the New Testament, Griesbach presents the Received Text in constant comparison with his own. He notes conspicuously, as preferable, or probable, or deserving attention, all those variations from it which he so regards, when he does not admit them into his text. The comparison between all the readings, which have in his view any grade of probability, is thus rendered a mere matter of ocular inspection. As a fair specimen of the whole I will give all those which he thus presents on the first eight chapters of Matthew. When it may be done, I will express the change in English; but in some cases the variation is so trifling, as to admit of no corresponding variation in a translation. The first column of the following table contains the readings of the Received Text; the second, the variations from it. Those unaccompanied with any note (except here and there a remark of my own) are what Griesbach has admitted into his text. In other cases, I have noted with sufficient distinctness the degree of probability that he assigns to them. *

RECEIVED TEXT.	VARIATIONS ADOPTED OR SUGGESTED BY GRIESBACH.
Ch. i. v. 1. Δαβὶδ	Δαυὶδ } The names of David and
6. Σολομῶντα	Σολομῶνα } Solomon differently spelt.
18. *Jesus*	perhaps to be omitted.
γέννησις (*generation*)	γένεσις (*birth*)
19. παραδειγματίσαι (*to expose to shame*)	perhaps δειγματίσαι (*to expose*)

* I have used both Griesbach's last critical edition and his manual edition; but of course have not quoted those readings of the latter which he notices only as on some account remarkable, and which are not such as he admits between the lines below the text of his critical edition.

	22. τοῦ	perhaps to be omitted.
Ch. ii.	v. 8. *carefully search out*	perhaps, *search out carefully*
	9. ἔστη	perhaps, ἐστάθη (no change in the sense.)
	11. *they found*	*they saw*
	15. τοῦ	perhaps to be omitted.
	17. ὑπὸ	perhaps, διὰ
	18. *lamentation and*	probably to be omitted.
	22. ἐπὶ	perhaps to be omitted.
Ch. iii.	v. 1. δὲ	perhaps to be omitted.
	3. ὑπὸ	perhaps, διὰ
	8. *fruits worthy*	*fruit worthy*
	10. καὶ	perhaps to be omitted.
	11. *with fire*	perhaps to be omitted. (If so, it was borrowed from Luke iii. 16, where there is no doubt of its genuineness.)
	12. *his* wheat	perhaps, *the* wheat
Ch. iv.	v. 4. *a man*	perhaps, *man* (ὁ being added before ἄνθρωπος.)
	ἐπὶ (*upon*)	probably, ἐν (*by*)
	5. *sets* ("*sets* him on the pinnacle of the temple")	perhaps, *set*
	10. *Go from me, Satan*	*Go behind me, Satan* (the words ὀπίσω μου being added by Griesbach.)
	12. *Jesus*	probably to be omitted.
	13. Καπερναοὺμ	probably, Καφαρναοὺμ (a different spelling of the name of the city, Capernaum.)
	18. *Jesus*	omitted.
Ch. v.	v. 9. αὐτοὶ	perhaps to be omitted: (no change can be made in a translation.)
	11. ψευδόμενοι (*speaking falsely*	perhaps to be omitted.
	20. ἡ δικαιοσύνη ὑμῶν	perhaps, ὑμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη
	25. *whilst thou art in the way with him*	perhaps, *whilst thou art with him in the way*
	27. *to them of old time*	omitted.
	28. αὐτῆς	probably, αὐτὴν
	31. ὅτι	perhaps to be omitted.
	32. *whoever shall put away*	perhaps, *every one putting away*
	44. *bless those who curse you, do good to those who hate you*	probably to be omitted. (If so, it was borrowed from Luke.)
	In the last clause, if it be retained, for τοὺς μισοῦντας	τοῖς μισοῦσιν

	despitefully use you (rather, *harass you*) *and*	perhaps to be omitted. (If so, it was borrowed from Luke.)
	47. *brethren*	perhaps, *friends*
	publicans	*Gentiles*
	do thus	perhaps, *do the same*
	48. ὥσπερ	perhaps, ὡς
	your father *in heaven*	probably, your *heavenly* father
Ch. vi. v. 1.	*alms*	*righteousness* (The propriety of this change is doubtful.)
	4. αὐτὸς (" he will reward you")	perhaps to be omitted. (So as to read " will reward you," only.)
	openly	probably to be omitted.
	5. *when thou prayest, thou shalt not be*	perhaps, *when ye pray, ye shall not be*
	ἂν	probably to be omitted.
	that (" *that* they have their reward")	*that*, probably to be omitted.
	6. τῷ (" pray to thy Father *who is* in secret")	perhaps to be omitted. (So as to read " pray to thy Father in secret.")
	openly	probably to be omitted.
	13. *For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory for ever. Amen.*	omitted. When our Lord's prayer was used in the liturgies of the ancient church, this doxology was subjoined; and transcribers, being accustomed to it in this connection, introduced it into their copies.)
	15. *their offences*	probably to be omitted.
	16. *that* (" *that* they have their reward")	*that*, probably to be omitted.
	18. κρυπτῷ (twice)	perhaps κρυφαίῳ (an improbable suggestion.)
	openly	omitted.
	21. *your* treasure	perhaps, *thy* treasure
	your heart	perhaps, *thy* heart
	24. μαμμωνᾷ	μαμωνᾷ
	25. *and what ye may drink*	probably to be omitted. (If so, it was borrowed from Luke.)
	34. τὰ (in the Common Version rendered " the things of")	probably to be omitted.
Ch. vii. v. 2.	ἀντιμετρηθήσεται (*it shall be measured in return*)	μετρηθήσεται (*it shall be measured*)
	9. ἐστιν	perhaps to be omitted.
	12. οὗτος (*this*)	perhaps, οὕτως (*thus*)
	14. Ὅτι (" *Because* strait is the gate")	Τί (" *How* strait is the gate")

Ch. viii. v. 2.	ἐλθὼν (*coming*)	perhaps, προσελθὼν (*coming up*, namely, to him.)
3.	*Jesus*	perhaps to be omitted.
4.	Μωσῆς	perhaps Μωϋσῆς
5.	τῷ Ἰησοῦ (" as Jesus was entering")	αὐτῷ (" as *he* was entering")
8.	λόγον	λόγῳ
13.	ἑκατοντάρχῳ	ἑκατοντάρχῃ
15.	αὐτοῖς (" waited upon *them*")	perhaps, αὐτῷ (" waited upon *him*")
25.	αὐτοῦ (" *his* disciples")	omitted, (" *the* disciples")
28.	*Gergesenes*	probably, *Gerasenes*; perhaps, *Gadarenes*
29.	*Jesus*	omitted.
31.	*suffer us to go*	*send us*
32.	*the herd of swine*	*the swine*
	" the herd *of swine*"	*of swine*, omitted.

Such are the various readings which have been represented by other critics beside Griesbach as rendering one text different from another in its whole conformation and entire coloring.

Of the passages of more importance in the Gospels, concerning which there is reason to think that they did not proceed from the Evangelists, I shall speak in a following section. Those, however, in the Gospel of Matthew are not various readings, nor is there any reasonable doubt that they always made a part of our present Greek Gospel. Whether they likewise were to be found in the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, as it came from the pen of the Evangelist, is another question. But before proceeding to its examination, we will attend to the questions respecting the original language of Matthew's Gospel and its use by the Hebrew Christians.

Section IV.

On the Original Language of Matthew's Gospel, and its Use by the Hebrew Christians.

We believe that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, meaning by that term the common language of the Jews of his time, because such is the uniform statement of all ancient writers who advert to the subject. To pass over others whose authority is of less weight, he is affirmed to have

written in Hebrew by Papias,* Irenæus,† Origen,‡ Eusebius,§ and Jerome; ‖ nor does any ancient author advance a contrary opinion. This testimony is of the more weight, because, if there had been any prejudice on the subject, it would have operated against the common belief, as the prejudices of modern Christians have done. It would have led the great body of ancient Gentile Christians, from whom we receive the account, to prefer considering their Greek Gospel of Matthew as the original, not as a translation.

If we will not, then, reject the testimony of all Christian antiquity to a simple fact, in which there is no intrinsic improbability, we must believe that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew. Nothing has been objected to that testimony which I can regard as of sufficient force to justify a protracted discussion. On the contrary, it is confirmed by the corresponding evidence of the fathers, that the Hebrew original of Matthew was in common use (either in a pure or corrupt form) among Jewish Christians.

One of the last notices of the Jewish Christians in the New Testament is in the words addressed by the other Apostles to St. Paul, during his last visit to Jerusalem :—"Thou seest, brother, what multitudes of Jews there are who believe, and *they are all zealous for the Law*. But they have heard concerning thee, that thou art teaching all the Jews living among the Gentiles to become apostates from Moses, telling them *not to circumcise their children, nor to observe the ancient customs*."¶ The same attachment to their Law continued to distinguish the great body of Jewish Christians, though there were freethinkers among them, who, as Origen says, "relinquished the ancient customs under the pretext of expositions and allegories."** Even these, however, there is no reason to doubt, retained the rite of circumcision. And, on the other hand, the more bigoted among them contended that the literal observance of the Jewish Law was not only binding upon Jewish, but equally upon Gentile, Christians. As a general distinction, the Jewish Christians believed Christ to have been only a man, in opposition

* See before, p. 151. † See before, p. 84. ‡ See before, p. 93.

§ Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii. c. 24. Quæstiones ad Marinum, ap. Maii Scriptorum Veterum Nov. Collect. Tom. i. p. 64.

‖ The fact is stated or implied by Jerome in passages so numerous, that it is not worth while to refer to them particularly.

¶ Acts xxi. 20, 21. ** Origen. cont. Celsum, Lib. ii. n. 3. Opp. i. 388.

to the doctrine of his divine nature, which, in some sense or other, began very early to be maintained by the Gentile fathers. Some of their number at the same time received, and others rejected, the belief of his miraculous conception. And, besides the differences which have been mentioned, the separation between the Jewish and Gentile Christians was undoubtedly in a great degree produced and perpetuated by the feelings with which Jews and Gentiles had previously, for an indefinite time, regarded each other. In the second century, the Jewish Christians, generally, were considered as heretics, and denominated Ebionites.

It appears, from the language in which Matthew wrote, and from the internal character of his Gospel, that he intended it particularly for Jewish Christians. Conformably to this, we have satisfactory evidence, that, as an heretical sect, they used it exclusively of the other three Gospels from the second century downwards.

Irenæus, speaking of the Jewish Christians under the name of Ebionites, repeatedly mentions briefly, as if it were a fact of common notoriety, that they used the Gospel of Matthew alone.*

Symmachus, one of the ancient well-known Jewish translators of the Old Testament into Greek, was an Ebionite. He wrote commentaries in defence of the doctrine of his sect, which are mentioned by Eusebius (with whom his translator Rufinus is to be compared), Jerome, and others, who speak of his reference to, or use of, the Gospel of Matthew, without intimating his use of any other book. Jerome says, that his commentaries were written on the Gospel of Matthew.†

By the name of Ebionites, the Jewish Christians, generally, continued to be denominated till the time of Epiphanius in the fourth century. Epiphanius divides them into Ebionites and Nazarenes, being the first

* Cont. Hæres. Lib. i. c. 26. § 2. Lib. iii. c. 11. § 7.

† See Lardner, Works, 4to. i. 447.—Eusebius (H. E. L. vi. c. 17) says, as I suppose his words should be literally rendered, that Symmachus maintained his heresy, "strongly contending against the Gospel of Matthew,"—*πρὸς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἀποτεινόμενος Εὐαγγέλιον*; from which may be inferred the peculiar authority of the Gospel of Matthew with the Ebionites. The meaning of Eusebius apparently was, that Symmachus contended strongly against the true sense of the Gospel of Matthew. Rufinus, rendering the passage, as I conceive, somewhat loosely, makes Eusebius say, that Symmachus "endeavoured to maintain his heresy from the Gospel of Matthew."

writer who uses the latter name as that of an heretical sect. His unsupported authority deserves no credit, when he relates what is improbable, or attacks the character of those whom he assails, or was under any temptation to falsehood. But there is no ground for distrusting the main truth of his assertions respecting the use which the Hebrew Christians made of the Gospel of Matthew. Of those whom he calls Nazarenes, he says:—"They have the Gospel of Matthew very complete; for it is well known that this is preserved among them, as it was first written, in Hebrew." * Of those whom he calls Ebionites, he says, that they used the Gospel of Matthew alone, in the original Hebrew, calling it *the Gospel according to the Hebrews*; and the truth is, he adds, that Matthew alone, of all the writers of the New Testament, composed in Hebrew.†

About the end of the fourth century, Jerome states that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew; and that he had obtained leave to transcribe a copy of the Hebrew original from the Nazarenes of Berœa in Syria, by whom it was used.‡ Afterwards, speaking of this same work under the name of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, he mentions that he had translated it both into Greek and Latin; and repeatedly observes that it was generally considered (*ut plerique autumant*) as the Gospel of Matthew.§

The original of Matthew's Gospel being used by the Hebrew Christians, naturally obtained the name of "the Gospel according to the Hebrews." But copies of it were extant containing spurious additions and variations. The fathers, with rare exceptions, such as Origen and Jerome, from their ignorance of the Hebrew, could have known but little of the contents of any copy except by report. Jerome particularizes certain additions, which he found in that used by him. But we have no assurance that there were not other copies extant, even in his time, more conformed to the original text. No father, it may safely be presumed, had collated different copies. But the spurious additions of

* Opp. i. 124.—Epiphanius's want of accuracy, however, appears in what he immediately subjoins:—"But I do not know whether they take away the genealogy from Abraham to Christ;" from which words we may conclude, likewise, that he had not seen the book of which he speaks.

† Opp. i. 127.

‡ Catal. Vir. Illust. in Matt. Opp. Tom. iv. P. ii. col. 102.

§ Advers. Pelagianos, Lib. iii. Opp. Tom. iv. P. ii. col. 533.—Comment. in Matth. xii. 13. Opp. Tom. iv. P. i. col. 47.

which the fathers had heard, and which a very few of their number may have seen in some particular copy, and the omission in many copies of the first two chapters ascribed to Matthew (of which we shall hereafter speak), threw a suspicion on the work; and under the name of the Gospel of the Hebrews, it came to be regarded as not a canonical book. Hence, in modern times, the opinion has been maintained that the Gospel of the Hebrews was originally a different work from the Gospel of Matthew. This opinion has been strengthened by a false account given by Epiphanius of the Gospel of the Hebrews, as he pretends that it existed among those whom he calls Ebionites, which account I have examined in a note below.*

* The passages that have been preserved of the Gospel of the Hebrews, so called, in which some one or more of its copies varied from the Gospel of Matthew, may be found in the Codex Apocryphus N. T. of Fabricius, or in Jones on the Canon.

But from the passages that have been regarded as variations or additions in the Gospel of the Hebrews, should, I believe, be excepted all those given on the authority of Epiphanius. His account of the contents of the gospel used by the Ebionites is, I am persuaded, wholly undeserving of credit. The opposite opinion has been commonly held; and the Gospel of the Ebionites has been spoken of as a distinct form of the Gospel of the Hebrews. Not having sufficiently attended to the subject, I wrote, in the first edition of this work, on the presumption of the truth of this opinion. But the grounds on which it is to be rejected may appear from what follows.

Epiphanius, in a passage following one already quoted from him above (in which he asserts that the Ebionites "used the Gospel of Matthew alone in the original Hebrew"), says (Opp. i. 137), that the Gospel of Matthew used by the Ebionites was "not complete, but corrupted and curtailed," and proceeds to give the following example. In this Gospel, he says, it is written:—

"*There was a certain man, Jesus by name, about thirty years old, who made choice of us. And coming to Capernaum, he entered the house of Simon, surnamed Peter; and, opening his mouth, he said, As I was passing along the lake of Tiberias, I chose John and James, sons of Zebedee, and Simon, and Andrew, and Thaddeus, and Simon the Zealot, and Judas Iscariot,—and thee Matthew I called, who wert sitting at the custom-house, and thou didst follow me. You, then, I will should be twelve Apostles to testify to Israel.*

"*And John was baptizing. And the Pharisees went to him and were baptized, and all Jerusalem. And John had a garment of camel's-hair, and a leathern girdle round his loins; and his food,* this gospel says, *was wild honey, the taste of which was that of the manna, like a sweet cake with oil.*"

The last words, "*like a sweet cake with oil,*" are a description of the taste of the manna, borrowed, inaccurately, from the renderings of the Septuagint, Exodus xvi. 31, and Numbers xi. 8.

This passage is characterized by such weakness and folly as to show, that it

But in regard to those interpolations and changes found in the Gospel of the Hebrews, of which we have any authentic information, there

never could have made part of a book regarded as the authentic history of our Lord by any body of Christians, or by any body of men possessed of common intelligence. It exhibits those characteristics so strongly throughout, that it scarcely deserves to be particularly remarked, that eight individuals are called twelve Apostles; or that such care is taken to inform the reader concerning the taste of wild honey, by comparing it to that of the manna.

But should we reason on the supposition, that the passage was found in some history of Christ, it is evident, that, such being the case, it must have formed its commencement. It is not easy to perceive how this fact can be made clearer than it is at first view, or what doubt may arise concerning it which it is necessary to remove. But the absurdity of supposing the passage to occupy any other place may, perhaps, be brought more home to the mind by imagining it to be inserted somewhere after the beginning, in any one of the four Gospels, or in any other gospel that may be conceived of.

But Epiphanius, immediately after quoting this passage, goes on to say (p. 138), "Their gospel" (the Gospel of the Ebionites) "begins thus:—

"*In the days of Herod, king of Judaa, John came baptizing the baptism of repentance in the river Jordan; being said to be of the family of Aaron the priest, the son of Zacharias and Elizabeth; and all went to him.*"

Epiphanius thus assigns two beginnings to his pretended gospel. No credit can be given to the account of a writer who sets out with a false statement in the form of so portentous a blunder. The two passages which he pretends to quote could not have coëxisted in the same book.

In the passage last given, John is said to have baptized in the reign of Herod, king of Judea, that is of Herod the Great (so called); and these words are just afterwards alleged by Epiphanius again. But this Herod died more than thirty years before John's appearance. We cannot believe that so gross an error had a permanent place in a gospel received as a work of authority by Jewish Christians.

After what has been said, it is not necessary to bring into view all the other reasons which make it evident that the account given by Epiphanius of the Gospel of the Ebionites is a mere fabrication. But there are two or three other points which it may be worth while to attend to.

This Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, "corrupted and curtailed," was, as he affirms (p. 138), the same gospel which was used by the Carpocratians. But the Carpocratians, of whom I have elsewhere spoken (Part iii. Ch. iv.), were a Gentile sect, widely differing from the Ebionites in their doctrines. Whatever conceptions they may have borrowed from Christianity, they certainly did not make use of a Hebrew Gospel. Any gospel which they were acquainted with must have been in Greek.

But, though there is no question that the Ebionites used a Hebrew gospel, yet the remarks of Epiphanius on one passage which he professes to quote from it (p. 146), imply the extraordinary oversight of regarding it as a Greek gospel. The Ebionites, he says, refrained from animal food. But our Saviour, he objects,

seems to be no difficulty in explaining their origin. The Ebionites, generally, were illiterate. Very few of them, it is likely, were acquainted

partook of the Passover. And he pretends (p. 146), that, to meet this difficulty, the Ebionites had altered the words of Jesus, *I have earnestly desired to eat this Passover with you*, into an interrogation, *Have I earnestly desired to eat this Passover with you?* This change would be effected in Greek by prefixing the Greek particle μή to the sentence; and Epiphanius asks, "Is not their fraud to be easily detected from what follows, which proclaims that the *mu* (the letter μ) and the *eta* (η) have been added?"

It appears, then, that he was commenting on a Greek text, real or imaginary. The words of our Lord which he quotes are not in Matthew, but in Luke (xxii. 15); and, to reduce all the statements of Epiphanius into one coherent charge, it would amount to this, that the Ebionites introduced a passage in Greek from the Gospel of Luke into the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, for the sake of corrupting the reading, though they could gain no advantage by it.

I will remark on one other passage, the only one remaining of those which Epiphanius professes to quote from the Gospel of the Ebionites, excepting an account of our Lord's baptism, which I have omitted to notice, because it is not particularly important in regard to our present purpose.

By the fathers before and after Epiphanius, the Jewish Christians, generally, are represented as distinguished by their attachment to the Jewish Law,—Origen alone remarking, that some of them "had relinquished their ancient customs under the pretext of expositions and allegories." The same character is also given of them by Epiphanius. "The Nazarenes," he says, after his fashion (p. 122), "are in all things Jews, and nothing else." "The Ebionites," he says (p. 125), "hold the doctrine of the Nazarenes." "Ebion adhered to the Jewish Law as to keeping the Sabbath, and circumcision, and all other things which are observed by Jews and Samaritans." (p. 126.) The Ebionites, he affirms, calumniated St. Paul, because "he wrote against circumcision, and the Sabbath, and the Law." (p. 140.)

Yet on the very page on which this last assertion stands, he abruptly introduces the declaration, that in the Gospel of the Ebionites Christ was represented as saying:—

"*I have come to abolish sacrifices, and unless ye cease from offering sacrifices, wrath will not cease to be upon you.*"

He makes this astonishing statement without any attempt to reconcile it with the well-known character of the Ebionites, or with his own account of them.

Epiphanius could not have afforded plainer indications than he has done, that the account given by him of his pretended Gospel of the Ebionites is utterly undeserving of credit. What may have suggested to him the fabrication, or what may have been his motive for putting it forth, must be a mere matter of conjecture. But it is evident that the account is to be thrown out of consideration in an inquiry respecting the use of the Hebrew original of Matthew by the Jewish Christians; and that no argument on any subject is valid which rests on the supposition of its truth.—*Note to 2nd Edition*, 1846.

with other books than those of the Old Testament and the Gospel of Matthew. Probably there were none among them who were transcribers by trade, and none, therefore, who had acquired those habits of accuracy and consideration, and that feeling of responsibility, which might be found in a regular transcriber. It was to be expected, therefore, that the Gospel of Matthew would suffer in their hands. It was, we may suppose, carelessly copied; the number of copies was small, and they were not compared together for the sake of correcting one by another; marginal additions, by a common mistake of transcribers, of which I have before spoken, and which I shall have repeated occasion to notice, were introduced into the text; and it would not be strange if there were transcribers who sometimes allowed themselves to insert a passage which they had derived from tradition, or from some other source, and which they regarded as true and to the purpose.

Putting aside the fabulous account of Epiphanius, there are no variations in the Gospel of the Hebrews from the Gospel of Matthew but such as may be thus explained. There is no appearance that the Jewish Christians, or any portion of them, undertook to refashion the Gospel of Matthew. Nor are the interpolations or changes specified such as have the appearance of being made to favor their peculiar opinions.

In regard to the essential identity of the Gospel of the Hebrews with the Gospel of Matthew, it is to be observed, that all the interpolations and changes in the former, of which we have any credible account, bear but a very small proportion to the contents of the Gospel of Matthew. Yet it is probable that Jerome has noticed all or nearly all the remarkable variations existing in his copy of the Gospel of the Hebrews. It appears, therefore, that throughout far the greater part of their contents they coincided with each other. This must have been the fact, or it would not have been believed that they were originally the same book. Thus agreeing together in far the greater part of their contents, they were the same book. The variations found in copies of the Gospel of the Hebrews can be considered only as variations in particular copies of a common original. The supposition, therefore, is altogether groundless, that the Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of the Hebrews were different works, by different authors.

Matthew wrote in the native language of the Jewish Christians. He wrote particularly for their use. There was nothing in his Gospel to

offend their national prejudices. It is not to be believed, therefore, that they rejected his Gospel, and substituted an anonymous gospel in its stead.

It was, as we have seen, the common belief of the Gentile Christians, that the Jewish Christians used the original of Matthew's Gospel in a pure or corrupted state. The Jewish Christians, consequently, affirmed that they used Matthew's Gospel; for otherwise such a belief could not have prevailed. But no probable reason can be given why one party should have affirmed this fact, or why the other party should have believed it, except its truth.

We conclude, then, that Matthew's Gospel was originally written in Hebrew; and that it was preserved in this language, in copies with a text more or less pure, by the Jewish Christians till about the fifth century; when the traces of their existence as a sect disappear from history.

SECTION V.

On some Passages in the Received Text of the Gospels, of which the Genuineness is doubtful.

I.

THE FIRST TWO CHAPTERS OF THE PRESENT GREEK GOSPEL OF MATTHEW.

The first passage to be examined consists of the first two chapters of Matthew's Gospel. There is no doubt that they have always made a part of our Greek translation; but this does not decide the question, whether they proceeded from the Apostle. As has been already suggested,* they may have been an ancient document, written in Hebrew, originally a separate work, but which, on account of its small size and the connection of its subject, was transcribed into manuscripts of the Hebrew original of Matthew, till in time it became blended with his Gospel as a part of it, in some copies, one or more of which came into the hands of his translator.

The first point, then, to be attended to in this inquiry is, that a large portion of the Jewish Christians did not believe the miraculous concep-

* See before, pp. 16, 17.

tion of our Lord, and had not the account of it, that is, the two chapters in question, in their copies of Matthew's Gospel. There was nothing in their prejudices or habits of mind which could have led them to reject the belief of that fact, and especially to mutilate their Gospel in order to get rid of the account of it. But if this be so, as it is altogether improbable that the two chapters would be lost by accident from any number of copies, it follows that they were an addition to the original in the copies in which they were found, and not an omission in those in which they were wanting.

The chapters themselves are next to be examined, in order to determine whether the narrative contained in them is such as we can believe to have proceeded from the Apostle; and, in doing so, we must compare it with the account of the nativity given by Luke, which, there is no plausible reason for doubting, always made a part of his Gospel. Respecting this account, however, a few preliminary remarks are necessary.

I agree with many critics in supposing that it existed in a written form in Hebrew, previously to the composition of Luke's Gospel, in which he inserted a translation of it, perhaps his own, perhaps one already made. The language differs from that of the rest of his Gospel, as being more conformed to the Hebrew idiom; and the cast of the narrative has something of a poetical, and even fabulous character, very different from the severe simplicity with which he, in common with the other Evangelists, relates events in his own person. But his adopting this narrative proves that he regarded it as essentially true; and he would not have so regarded it, had not the *main fact* of the miraculous birth of Jesus been believed to be true by the Apostles and other early Christians with whom he associated. Now, considering that two and probably three of the Apostles * were relatives of Jesus, and that others of their number, as John, were familiar with his mother and family, there can be no doubt that the belief of the Apostles rested on information derived from them.

The account of Luke, then, being in its more important features conformable to the belief of the Apostles, any other account inconsistent with this, or contradictory to it, cannot be received as proceeding from an Apostle. Let us apply this test to the two chapters in question.

We are first struck with the discrepance between the two genealogies

* James the son of Alpheus and his brother Jude, and probably Simon the Canaanite.

given, the one by the author of those chapters, and the other by Luke. I shall not enter into an examination of the various attempts that have been made to show that both may be true. They are all conjectural, and each is exposed to particular objections, of a nature to prevent its being received. If, for instance, according to a common notion, Luke had intended to give the genealogy of Mary, he would have said so. He would not have indicated his meaning so ambiguously and circuitously as by affirming that Joseph was the son of Heli, when he meant only that he was his son-in-law, Heli being Mary's father. But there is a general remark which applies to them all. If Matthew were the author of the two chapters, the genealogy given by him was regarded as correct by the other Apostles. So also we may infer, with equal confidence, that the genealogy given by Luke was regarded by them as correct. It follows, then, that the Apostles were acquainted with two genealogies, both correct, but at first view irreconcilable with each other, and the apparent contradiction of which has been regarded since the second century as presenting a serious difficulty. In giving either of the two, an Apostle or Evangelist, aware that it might be confronted by another, entitled to equal credit, would, we may reasonably believe, have had regard to this fact, and inserted a few words of explanation. The supposition, it may be added, is very unlikely, that according to the usages of the Jews there should have been two modes of reckoning the descent of the same individual, both equally proper. We know nothing to countenance such an opinion.

If, then, the genealogy contained in the two chapters be irreconcilable with that of Luke, it cannot have proceeded from Matthew. The most probable conjecture perhaps is, that we owe it, in common with the remainder of the two chapters, to some Hebrew convert, who composed the narrative shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews, and who, having found a genealogy of some individual by the name of Joseph, represented as a descendant of David, mistook it for the genealogy of Joseph the husband of Mary.

As we proceed, the discrepance between the account of the nativity of Jesus, as contained in the two chapters and the account of Luke, continues to be very striking.

According to Luke, Joseph and Mary dwelt in Nazareth. On the occasion of a proposed census, they both journeyed to Bethlehem, where Jesus was born, and where he was visited by shepherds, to whom his birth had been announced by angels. Forty days after his birth, that

is, when the days of Mary's purification, according to the Jewish Law, had been accomplished, he was presented in the temple, when his high destiny was publicly announced. Then, after performing all the rites of the Law, Joseph and Mary returned to Nazareth.

The author of the two chapters, without mentioning any previous residence of Joseph and Mary at Nazareth, relates, that Jesus was born at Bethlehem; that certain Magi from the East, having seen his star, came to pay him reverence; that their inquiries at Jerusalem concerning the new-born king of the Jews threw Herod and the whole city into commotion; that they were directed by Herod to inform him when they had found the child, but were divinely warned to the contrary; and that Joseph was at the same time warned that the child's life was in danger, and directed to fly with him and his mother into Egypt, which he accordingly did, and remained there till after the death of Herod. In the account of Joseph's return, the writer shows that he supposed Bethlehem to have been his previous place of residence; for he represents him as prevented only by a new divine warning from returning to that city, and as led in consequence to take up his abode at Nazareth.

As it may be a matter of curiosity to those not familiar with the subject, I will mention the manner in which it has been attempted to reconcile these two accounts. Luke says (ii. 39), that after the purification of Mary in the temple, "when they (Joseph and Mary) had performed all things according to the Law of the Lord, they returned to Galilee, to their own town, Nazareth." But it is contended, that, though Luke has so expressed himself, yet the return to Nazareth actually meant by him was that following the flight into Egypt; that Joseph and Mary did not go from Jerusalem to Nazareth, but for some reason or other went to reside at Bethlehem; that during this residence at Bethlehem, the visit of the Magi took place; and consequently, that it was after the miraculous display of angels at the birth of Jesus, and after the predictions which accompanied his public presentation in the temple, that Jerusalem was first thrown into commotion, and the jealousy of Herod excited, by the reports and inquiries of those strangers.

This, then, is the second very improbable solution of an apparent contradiction between the account in the two chapters and the account of Luke; and it is to be observed, that the improbability of the truth of any narrative increases in a very rapid ratio to the number of such solutions required.

We must consider, that if the account of Luke respecting the birth of Jesus be authentic in its essential features, it must have been derived from the mother and family of Jesus, as its *original* source; for they only could furnish an authentic account. But the circumstances related in the two chapters are of such a character, that they could not have been forgotten or omitted in their narrative, had they taken place; nor can we refer to the same authentic source two narratives apparently so contradictory, which coincide in scarcely a single circumstance, and which in their general complexion present an aspect so different. The account of Luke being that received by the Apostles, we cannot believe another so unlike it to have proceeded from the Apostle Matthew.

To the narrative in the two chapters, there are other objections, arising from its intrinsic character. In the story of the Magi, we find represented a strange mixture of astrology and miracle. A divine interposition is pretended, which was addressed to the false opinions of certain Magi, respecting the significance of the stars; and for which no purpose worthy of the Deity can be assigned. They are represented as having been guided by a star, which at last stood over the place where the child was, though an object but a little elevated in the heavens changes its apparent position in reference to objects seen on the earth, according to the point of view of the spectator. Distrusting, however, the guidance of the star, which had led them as far as Jerusalem, and which finally, as we are told, guided them right, they are represented as inquiring in that city where the object of their search was to be found; and in making this inquiry, we find them using language,—*Where is the new-born king of the Jews?*—that must have been altogether unintelligible to those not equally favored with themselves by a divine communication respecting his birth. These inquiries, according to the account, excited great alarm in Herod, who was fast approaching the grave, worn out with insane passions, disease, and old age; and whose want of faith in the Jewish religion, and natural temperament, would have led him to regard with derision the Jewish expectations of a Messiah. He could not have apprehended, that the remainder of his life would be disturbed by the future claims to his throne of an infant just born in obscurity; and his solicitude about what might happen, years after his death, to those of his children whom he had not destroyed, was little likely to disturb him. Yet he is represented as having been so carried away by fear and passion, as to act not only with the greatest barbarity but the greatest folly, to have

ordered an indiscriminate massacre, from which his intended victim actually escaped, when it is clear, that, if the preceding circumstances related by Luke, or even those related by the author of the two chapters, be true, that victim had become far too conspicuous not to be very easily identified.

But, if we reject the two chapters, a difficulty arises; as the original Hebrew Gospel could not have commenced with the first words of the third chapter,—"But in those days." The difficulty, however, is removed by considering that these words may have been added as a form of transition to a new subject, when the two chapters were blended with the Gospel, and that the Gospel may originally have begun with the words that follow:—"John the Baptist came preaching in the wilderness of Judea;" that is, in a manner corresponding to the commencement of Mark's Gospel. Or the first words may originally have been, "In the days of Herod," meaning Herod the tetrarch of Galilee, which supposition is, perhaps, countenanced by the story of Epiphanius, before mentioned, that the Gospel of the Ebionites began "In the days of Herod, *king of Judea;*" the addition of which last words, *king of Judea*, seems to have been a blunder of his own.

But the commencement of the third chapter, "In those days," presents a more serious difficulty upon the supposition that what precedes was written by Matthew. The last events mentioned at the close of the second chapter are the accession of Archelaus as ruler of Judea, and Joseph's going to reside at Nazareth. But it was not in the time of those events, it was not "in those days;" on the contrary, it was about thirty years afterward, that John the Baptist was preaching in the wilderness of Judea.

The reasons that have been given may, I think, satisfy us that the two chapters in question did not proceed from the Apostle Matthew. When we turn to the narrative of Luke, no important difficulties will, I think, present themselves to the mind of one who has not determined to reject the belief of all miraculous interposition. The narrative is, as I have said, in a style rather poetical than historical. It was probably not committed to writing till after the death of Mary, and of all the other individuals particularly concerned. With its real miracles, the fictions of oral tradition had probably become blended; and the individual by whom it was committed to writing probably added what he regarded as poetical embellishments. It is not necessary to believe; for example, that Mary and Zachariah actually ex-

pressed themselves in the rhythmical language of the hymns ascribed to them; or to receive as literal history the whole account respecting the birth of John the Baptist, or of the different appearances of an angel announcing himself as Gabriel. With our present means of judging, however, we cannot draw a precise line between the truth and what has been added to the truth. But in regard to the main event related, the miraculous conception of Jesus, it seems to me not difficult to discern in it purposes worthy of God. Nothing could have served more effectually to relieve him from that interposition and embarrassment in the performance of his high mission, to which he would have been exposed on the part of his parents, if born in the common course of nature. It took him from their control, and made them feel, that in regard to him they were not to interfere with the purposes of God. It gave him an abiding sense, from his earliest years, that his destiny on earth was peculiar and marvellous; and must have operated most powerfully to produce that consciousness of his intimate and singular connection with God, which was so necessary to the formation of the character he displayed, and to the right performance of the great trust committed to him. It corresponds with his office; presenting him to the mind of a believer, as an individual set apart from all other men, coming into the world with the stamp of God upon him, answerably to his purpose here, which was to speak to us with authority from God.

II.

MATTHEW, CHAPTER XXVII. VERSES 3-10.

In reference to the original text of our present Greek translation of Matthew, I know of nothing extant in any considerable number of copies, which can be considered as an interpolation of any importance. The most remarkable, perhaps, is the doxology at the end of our Lord's prayer, already noticed.* But, beside the two chapters that have been discussed, there are other passages which are liable to the suspicion of having been interpolated in the copy, or in copies, of the original Hebrew, used by the translator.

It is to be remarked, that for determining the text of Matthew's Hebrew Gospel we have but a single authority, the Greek translation, the representative perhaps of but one manuscript, probably not of many.

* See before, p. 195.

But where we have but a single manuscript for determining the text of an author, and our single authority, the Greek translation, amounts to but little more, its evidence is not of great weight against a strong presumption of the spuriousness of a passage.

Of the passages referred to, the genuineness of which is suspicious, one is the account of the conduct and fate of Judas, on the morning after the apprehension of Jesus. I will give it with the context, Matthew xxvii. 1—11.

"But in the morning, early, all the chief priests and the elders of the people met in council to devise how they might procure the death of Jesus. And having bound him, they carried him before Pilate the governor, to deliver him up to him. [Then Judas, who had put him in their power, seeing that he was condemned, repented, and carried back the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders, saying, I have sinned in betraying the blood of an innocent man. But they said to him, What is that to us? Do you look to it. And he threw down the money in the temple, and withdrew, and went and hanged himself. But the chief priests, taking the money, said, It is not lawful to put it into the sacred treasury, since it is the price of blood. And after consulting together, they determined to purchase with it the Potter's Field, as a burial-place for strangers. Hence that field has been called the Field of Blood to this day. Then was fulfilled what was said by Jeremiah the prophet:—*And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him who was appraised, whom the children of Israel appraised, and they gave them for the Potter's Field, as the Lord had appointed for me.*] Then Jesus stood before the governor, and the governor questioned him, saying, Art thou the king of the Jews?"

At first view this account of Judas has the aspect of an interpolation. It is inserted so as to disjoin a narrative, the different parts of which, when it is removed, come together as if they had been originally united. Whether it be or be not an interpolation, it is clearly not in a proper place. The whole story apparently refers to a period subsequent to the point of time where it is introduced. Between the evening in which Jesus was apprehended and early in the morning, no circumstance could have occurred to produce a great change in such a mind as that of Judas, or in any other. When he betrayed his master, he knew that he was delivering him into the hands of his enemies, whose immediate purpose it was to take his life. As the account is now placed, it is said, that in the morning Judas was affected with bitter

remorse, because he saw that "Jesus was condemned." But no condemnation had yet been passed upon him by the Roman governor, and Judas could have had no new conviction that the Sanhedrim would use all their efforts to procure his death. Though it may be possible to put a different meaning on the words, yet the account, according to its obvious sense, represents Judas as having had an interview with the chief priests and the elders (that is, with the Sanhedrim) *in the temple*, which is irreconcilable with the course of events as represented by Matthew, in the context of the passage, as well as by the other Evangelists. Matthew could not have described the Sanhedrim as holding a council in the house of Caiaphas, and proceeding thence to the house of Pilate, and also as being in the temple, where Judas returned them their money, and they deliberated what they should do with it.

The account of Judas we are considering is irreconcilable with that given by Luke in the Acts of the Apostles (ch. i. 18, 19). Luke says:—

"This man purchased a field with the reward of his iniquity; and falling headlong, burst asunder, so that all his bowels gushed out; and this was known to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, so that the field was called in their language, *Aceldama*, that is, *The Field of Blood*."

When Luke says that "this was known to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem," we understand him as meaning that it was a common report in Jerusalem, and that he himself believed it. I will not remark on the attempts which have been made to force his account into correspondence with that now found in Matthew's Gospel. To me it seems clear, that if Luke's be correct, that which we are examining must be erroneous in every particular. But there is no doubt, that the passage quoted from the Acts is genuine, and Luke, in giving the common report, may be presumed to have stated what was believed by the Apostles as well as others.

In the conclusion of the account found in Matthew's Gospel, there is an extraordinary misuse of a passage of Zechariah, which the writer professes to quote from Jeremiah. I put out of view the notion, that he may have found words answering to what he has given in an apocryphal book ascribed to Jeremiah, of which we nowhere find mention except in a single passage of Jerome, more than three centuries after the Gospel of Matthew was written. The mistake of the name Jeremiah for Zechariah seems to show, that the writer quoted from memory, and this may serve in part to explain the strange use which he

makes of the words of the latter. The changes of sense, which could not have had this origin, may be accounted for by the allegorical and cabalistical modes of interpreting the Old Testament that existed among the Jews. The passage of Zechariah (ch. xi. 12, 13), may be thus translated:—

"Then I said to them, If it seem good in your eyes, give me my wages! If not, keep them! And they weighed for my wages thirty shekels of silver. And Jehovah said to me, Cast it into the treasury, the goodly price at which I was valued by them! And I took the thirty shekels of silver, and cast them into the house of Jehovah, into the treasury." *

The word here rendered "treasury" commonly means "potter;" and the only reason for not so rendering it in the present case is the difficulty of explaining, why a potter should be spoken of as being in the house of the Lord. In the quotation found in Matthew "the potter" is changed into "the Potter's Field."

The inapplicability of the words of Zechariah to the purpose for whichthey are cited in the passage under consideration needs no illustration. Similar perversions of the Old Testament, by changing the words and sense of the original, may be found in the Rabbinical writings; but no other quotation of the same character is adduced by Matthew. If we believe the first two chapters to be the work of another hand, we may say that he has nothing resembling this quotation from Zechariah. On the contrary, the *applicability* of the words of the original to the subject about which he has used them is elsewhere apparent. Such being the habit of his mind, it is not probable that the quotation in question was made by him.

III.

MATTHEW, CHAPTER XXVII. PART OF VERSE 52 AND VERSE 53.

Another passage which one may believe to have been interpolated in the copy, or in copies, of the original Hebrew used by the translator, is that answering to the words of the following quotation which are included in brackets.

* I give the translation of my friend, the Reverend Professor Noyes (New Translation of the Hebrew Prophets, iii. 210).—Jehovah considers the wages of the Prophet as his own wages, and the contempt of the Prophet the same as the contempt of himself.

"And lo! the veil of the temple was torn asunder from the top to the bottom; and the earth was shaken, and the rocks were rent, and the sepulchres laid open; [and many bodies of saints who slept were raised, and, leaving their sepulchres, after his resurrection, entered the holy city and appeared to many.]"

Who, it may be asked, were these saints? Not disciples of Christ; for *many* of them had not died. Not unconverted Jews of that time; for to them such a title would not be applied. How long had they lain in their sepulchres? We cannot but suppose, that corruption had done its work on the larger portion; and is it to be thought that God would re-create, as it were, those mouldering bodies without some purpose far different from what can be discerned? What purpose indeed can be discerned? They appeared, it is said, to many; but we do not find that any converts were made in consequence, nor can we perceive that any good whatever followed, directly or indirectly, from their appearance. Supposing the story to be true, many to whom they did not appear would regard it as a fable; and its circulation would only tend to throw discredit on the testimony to the resurrection of Christ himself. Were those saints in fact recalled to life, and did they die again, and their bodies resume their places, when their supposed mission to the living was accomplished? Is it possible, if such an astonishing miracle had been performed, a miracle more adapted to excite consternation than any in the whole history of the Evangelists, that one really acquainted with such a fact should have known nothing of the consequences that must have resulted from it, or that, knowing those consequences, he should not have thought it worth while to record them? Is it likely that so strange a marvel, about which all Jerusalem must have been full of excitement, should have been mentioned but by one Evangelist, and that so slightly? Is it credible, that, when, as far as we know, but three individuals were restored to life by Jesus himself, and this in solemn attestation of his divine mission, many bodies of saints should have been raised under such circumstances as that the fact should contribute little or nothing to establish the truth of our religion?

After Christ's resurrection, it is said, they left their sepulchres and went into the holy city. In this extraordinary statement we may recognize, I think, the fabrication of some relator of the story. He apprehended, that if the saints were represented as rising and appearing on the day when Christ was crucified, it might seem to deprive him of

the title of *First-born from the dead*; and therefore had recourse to the not very successful expedient of postponing their appearance till after his resurrection.

If these views are correct, the story must be regarded as a fable; probably one which, in common, perhaps, with others now utterly forgotten, was in circulation among the Hebrew converts after the destruction of Jerusalem. Some possessor of a manuscript of Matthew's Hebrew Gospel may be supposed to have noted it in the margin of his copy, whence it found its way into the text of others, one or more of which fell into the hands of the Greek translator.

In connection with the mention of supposed interpolations in the Gospels, I have referred to the words ascribed to our Lord, in the fortieth verse of the twelfth chapter of Matthew.* On this passage I remark below.†

* See before, p. 18, note.

† I do not speak of the passage in the text, because I do not believe it to be an interpolation. I give the words in brackets, with those preceding:—

"A wicked and apostate race would have a sign; but no sign will be given it except the sign of Jonah the Prophet. [For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the fish, so will the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.]"

The words of our Lord are thus reported by Luke, Ch. xi. 29, 30:—

"This is a wicked race. It would have a sign; but no sign will be given it, except the sign of Jonah. For such a sign as Jonah was to the Ninevites will the Son of Man be to this generation."

If we regard what is given by Luke as a correct report of what was said by Jesus, we may suppose that the explanation of the sign of Jonah, by a comparison of his being three days and three nights in the belly of a fish with our Lord's being three days and three nights in a tomb, which is found in Matthew but not in Luke, was introduced into our Lord's discourse during the time that it was preserved by oral tradition. His own brief words leaving his meaning undefined, they were understood by some as referring to the extraordinary marvel related in the story of Jonah; and, being so understood, this explanation became connected with them. There seems to be no reason for supposing that it was inserted in Matthew's Gospel by any other than the Evangelist himself.

But it cannot readily be believed that our Lord would have represented his being three days and three nights in the heart of the earth as the only sign of his divine mission to be given to the Jews. This would have been admitting what they had just implied, that no sign of his divine mission had already been given them.

Nor, if we regard as fabulous the story that Jonah remained alive for three days

IV.

THE CONCLUSION OF MARK'S GOSPEL.

(CHAPTER XVI. VERSES 9-20.)

We pass to the Gospel of Mark. In this there is but one passage that demands consideration. It consists of the last twelve verses of his Gospel, from the ninth verse of the sixteenth chapter, inclusive, to the end.

and three nights in a fish by which he had been swallowed, is it credible that our Lord would have referred to a fiction of this sort in the manner represented;—especially, as it does not appear from the narrative concerning Jonah that the supposed miracle was any sign to the Ninevites, or was even known to them?

It may be added, that our Lord is made to say, that he would be three days and three nights in the tomb. He was, in fact, laid in the tomb on the night of Friday, probably late at night, and rose before the dawn of Sunday morning;—and no use of language can be produced which may justify the calling of such a period of time three days and three nights. Its being so called can, I think, be accounted for only by the loose manner in which the Jews were wont to accommodate together passages of the Old Testament, and events of which they regarded those passages as descriptive, prophetic, or typical. Of this it is not a remarkable example.

The meaning of the words of Jesus as reported by Luke, and also by Matthew, with the omission of those under consideration, may be thus explained:—

Jesus was surrounded by men full of bigotry, evil passions, and mortal hatred toward himself,—men who were resisting the strongest evidences of his divine mission, ascribing his miracles to the agency of Satan, and demanding in mockery some sign of his divine mission, some manifestation of God's power in attestation of it, as if the most striking attestations of it had not been already given. His view turned to that destruction of their nation which was impending over the Jews, as the punishment of their rejection of him. No sign, he says, will be given to this wicked and apostate race, no manifestation of God's power will be made to them which they will believe and feel to be such, except a prophet of destruction such as Jonah was to the Ninevites, whose warnings—to pursue the train of thought which was in the mind of our Lord—will be disregarded, and whose predictions of ruin will be accomplished.

Thus he immediately subjoins:—"The men of Nineveh will rise up before the judgment-seat with this race and condemn it; for they reformed upon the preaching of Jonah; and lo! one greater than Jonah is here."

However fabulous may be the story of Jonah, there was nothing unsuitable to our Lord's character in thus using it. Speakers and writers of every age and country have recurred to well-known works of fiction as readily as to authentic history for analogies and exemplifications fitted to affect the imaginations of their hearers or readers. It would be folly to suppose, that, in doing so, they meant to

It is remarkable, that, while Griesbach does not in his New Testament affix to them any mark of doubt, he argues at length against their genuineness in his *Commentarius Criticus*. The state of external testimony respecting them is as follows.

They are not found in the Vatican manuscript. In the Codex Stephani η, after the eighth verse, it is said, *The following also is extant*, which words precede a short conclusion (to be noticed hereafter *) undoubtedly spurious, and then come the words, *This also is extant*; after which follow the twelve verses in question. In more than forty other manuscripts, they are accompanied by various remarks, to the effect "that they were wanting in some, but found in the ancient copies;" "that they were in many copies," "that they had been considered spurious and were wanting in most copies," "that they were not in the more accurate copies," and, on the other hand, "that they were generally in accurate copies."

In the other manuscripts of the Gospels beside those mentioned, the passage in question is found without remark; and likewise in all the ancient versions, with the exception of the Armenian (in the manuscripts of which, as appears, it is either omitted or marked as of doubtful credit), and likewise of the copy of an Arabic version preserved in the Vatican library.

The nineteenth verse is distinctly quoted by Irenæus as from the Gospel of Mark; † and the passage in question appears to have been recognised as genuine by some other fathers.‡ But no part of it is quoted by Origen. According to Eusebius, almost all the copies of Mark's Gospel, including the most accurate, ended with what is now the eighth verse.§ Gregory of Nyssa states, that the passage was not found in the more accurate copies; ‖ and Jerome says, that it was but

vouch for the truth of the books which they have thus quoted. It is only in the reasonings of divines, that these facts have been overlooked,—in those reasonings in which our Lord and the writers of the New Testament have been considered as giving their authority for the truth and for the genuineness of all books referred to or quoted by them.

* See Additional Note, C.

† Cont. Hæres. Lib. iii. c. 10. § 6. p. 188.

‡ Not, however, by Clement of Rome, nor Justin, who are cited as quoting it in the editions of the N. T. by Griesbach and Scholz, nor, I think, by Clement of Alexandria, who is also adduced.

§ Quæstiones ad Marinum, pp. 61, 62.

‖ Orat. ii. in Christi Resurrect. Opp. iii. 411.

in few, being wanting in almost all the *Greek* manuscripts.* I pass over other authorities against it of less importance.

This state of the external evidence is such as to render the genuineness of the passage suspicious; especially when we consider that it was the natural tendency of transcribers rather to preserve, than to reject, what they found in an exemplar before them. They had the feeling, that it rendered their copy more complete. To reject was to assume responsibility; to retain was yielding to authority; and in addition, there has always been a strong, however irrational, sentiment, that, when there is a doubt whether a passage may not be a portion of Sacred Writ, it is profane to reject it; a sentiment of which we have had full proof in our day; the manifest corruptions found in the Received Text of the New Testament, being, some of them, still inserted in editions of the original, and all of them retained in the Common English Version, as published by authority. The dread of taking from Scripture any thing which might be a part of it has been far stronger than the apprehension, at least equally reasonable, of adding to Scripture something not belonging to it. Thus Eusebius, after mentioning that some rejected the passage under consideration, as wanting in most copies, and among them the most accurate, adds, that "others, not daring to reject any thing whatever that is extant, through any circumstance, in the manuscripts of the Gospels, say that there is here a double reading, as in many other places, and that both are to be received, because the faithful and pious will not undertake to decide in favour of one rather than the other."†

But, in addition to this common feeling, transcribers must have been

* Ad Hedibiam, de Quæstionibus. Opp. iv. P. i. col. 172.—Scholz, in the note on the verses in his edition of the N. T., says (as others have done), that Jerome makes an assertion contrary to that quoted above, in his work, Against the Pelagians (Lib. ii. Opp. iv. P. ii. col. 520). What Jerome there says is, that "in some copies, and particularly in Greek copies," at the end of Mark's Gospel, a passage was found (not now extant in any copy of the Gospel, and obviously spurious), which he quotes. It was inserted after the fourteenth verse, and is given by Griesbach and Scholz among their Various Readings. When Jerome, after saying that it was found "in *some* copies," adds, "particularly in Greek copies," he can only mean, that the fact deserved particular attention, that among those copies there were some in Greek. In this, there is nothing inconsistent with his assertion quoted above. The absence of the passage from all copies now extant proves that it could have been but in very few in the time of Jerome.

† Quæstiones ad Marinum, p. 62.

peculiarly reluctant to reject the passage before us; for, if struck off, it leaves the Gospel of Mark, in its conclusion, strangely incomplete and unsatisfactory. This, which every one feels, must have been felt by them. It is, I conceive, the main argument for the genuineness of the passage, and one which at first view may seem almost conclusive.

Before, however, considering this argument, we will attend to the internal character of the passage to ascertain what proof this may afford respecting the point at issue.

There is, then a difference so great between the use of language in this passage, and its use in the undisputed portion of Mark's Gospel, as to furnish strong reason for believing the passage not genuine. I give examples in a note below.*

To proceed to other considerations. In the ninth verse (the first of the disputed passage) Mary Magdalene is described as if unknown to the reader :—" Mary Magdalene, from whom he cast out seven demons." Now, as she had been mentioned by Mark several times within a few preceding pages, it is not likely that this mode of designating her, to be expected only concerning an individual first introduced to notice, should have been used by him. It seems to have been the work of the author of the addition, writing with too little reference to what preceded in the Gospel.

* There are various words and modes of expression peculiar to this passage, not connected with the expression of any thing peculiar to its subject; but, on the contrary, of such a character, that, if they had been familiar to Mark, they would probably have occurred elsewhere in his writings. Such are the following.

v. 9. *πρώτῃ σαββάτου* instead of *μίᾳ σαββάτων*, the expression used by Mark a little before, and by all the other Evangelists, in speaking of the day. *Πρώτη σαββάτου* occurs nowhere else in the New Testament.

v. 10. *ἐκείνῃ*, and v. 11. *κἀκεῖνοι*. This use of *ἐκεῖνος*, not demonstrative, nor emphatical, occurs nowhere else in Mark's Gospel.

v. 10. The expression *οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι* to denote the disciples of Jesus, of which use of the words there is no other example in the New Testament.

v. 19. *ὁ κύριος*, and v. 20. *τοῦ κυρίου*. Mark in his own person nowhere else applies this title to Christ.

Passing over the words peculiar to this passage, the use of which may be accounted for from something peculiar in its subject, the following nowhere else occur in the Gospel of Mark :—1. *πορεύομαι*, the participles of which are used three times, 2. *θεάομαι*, used as a verb, and likewise as its participle, 3. *ἀπιστέω*, verb and participle, 4. *μετὰ ταῦτα*, 5. *ἕτερος*, 6. *ὕστερον*, 7. *παρακολουθέω*, 8. *βλάπτω*, 9. *μὲν οὖν*, 10. *παντοχοῦ*, 11. *συνεργέω*, 12. *βεβαιόω*, 13. *ἐπακολουθέω*.

The words ascribed to our Saviour in these verses differ so much in their character from any elsewhere recorded as his, either by Mark or any other of the Evangelists, that it is difficult to believe them to have been uttered by him. "And he said to his disciples, Go to all the world, and preach the Gospel to the whole creation. He who believes and is baptized, shall be safe; he who disbelieves, shall be condemned. And these signs shall accompany those who believe; in my name they shall cast out demons; they shall speak new languages; they shall take up serpents; if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay their hands upon the diseased, and they shall be well." In these words, represented as the last that Jesus addressed to his Apostles, there appears a want of that moral dignity which is characteristic of his discourses, and which we should above all expect upon this occasion. The particular enumeration of miracles to be performed is not in his manner. He would not, in giving his last solemn charge to his Apostles, have turned away their thoughts from a consideration of their high duties, to an anticipation of the various miraculous powers which they, and other believers, were to possess. Some of the miracles enumerated are of a kind very different from those which he and his Apostles were accustomed to perform. They do not, like their works of mercy, bear in their very character the stamp of a divine mission. They were liable to be confounded with the tricks of pretended magicians. Some of the powers promised could be of no use to others, and of none to the possessor, except in case of a rare accident. But, above all, if, as I think is certain, miraculous powers were not granted to believers generally, then this promise that they would be so granted—"These signs shall accompany those who believe"—could not have been uttered by Christ; and, we may conclude with almost equal confidence, could not have been ascribed to him by the Evangelist.

There is, throughout these verses, an extraordinary conciseness of narration, very different from the common manner of Mark, who usually details facts in more words and with more circumstances than any other of the Evangelists. It is the manner of one adding only what he thought necessary to form some proper conclusion to the Gospel.

But, on the other hand, to recur to the argument before mentioned, it may be said, that it is incredible that Mark should have left his Gospel with so abrupt and unsatisfactory an ending as it must have had, if he had broken off with the eighth verse of the last chapter; and that this

consideration alone is sufficient to do away the whole force of the preceding remarks. I allow that it is incredible, that Mark should thus have ended his Gospel designedly and by choice; but it is not incredible that he should have been interrupted in his labors by accident. What that accident was must be a matter of conjecture. But there is nothing incredible or improbable in supposing, that *some* accident may have occurred to prevent him from finishing his Gospel as he intended; and there are historical circumstances which afford ground for conjecturing what that accident may have been.

According to ancient accounts, of which there is no reason for doubting the essential correctness, the Apostle Peter, near the close of his life, went to Rome, with Mark for his companion. He there preached the gospel, while Mark, as is related, composed, at the request of his hearers, a written gospel, of which his preaching was the basis. But the terrible persecution of the Christians under Nero broke out in the year 64, and in that or the following year, as appears probable, Peter was crucified. Here all authentic accounts of Mark end; for the story of his going from Rome and preaching at Alexandria can be traced no higher than to a hearsay of Eusebius, and is connected with relations of a nature wholly to destroy its credit. In that persecution, Mark may have perished also; or, if he did not, the anguish of mind which he must have suffered, or imprisonment, or a rapid flight from the city, or some other cause, connected with that period of frightful distress and anxiety, may have prevented him from completing his work. Copies of it, however, being taken in its imperfect state, we may suppose, that, at an early period, some individual possessing one of these who was procuring new transcripts to be made, added the brief conclusion which we now find, in order to complete the work. As the history is in fact unfinished without it, it soon came to be considered by very many as a part of the original Gospel, or as a proper addition to it, and it has thus, we may suppose, found its way into a great majority of our present copies.

V.

LUKE, CHAPTER IX. VERSES 55, 56.

When our Lord and his disciples were refused hospitality by the Samaritans of a certain village, which was an act of peculiar disrespect

according to the notions of that age and country, James and John, in common, doubtless, with the other disciples, were indignant at such treatment. They recollected what, according to the Jewish history, had been the dealings of prophets of old with those who offended them; they were disposed on this as on other occasions to take the lead among the disciples, and, under the excitement of the moment, they addressed Jesus with the question,—"Master, shall we call down fire from heaven and destroy them?—as Elijah did.

"But he turned and rebuked them; [and said, Ye know not of what spirit ye are. For the Son of Man came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.] And they went to another village."

We can conceive of no words more appropriate to the occasion, more suitable to the character of our Lord, or better fitted to repress and correct the wrong feelings of his disciples. They conveyed a reproof full of instruction, expressed at once in the mildest and the most effectual form.

One who is not a critical student of the New Testament may therefore be surprised to learn, that these words were, probably, not in the Gospel of Luke as written by him. They are wanting in a large majority of the oldest and most important manuscripts.

The omission of a passage which was part of the original text of a work must be the result either of accident or of design. No accident can be supposed which would lead to the concurrent omission of a passage in many manuscripts, which, like those in the present case, were written independently of one another, that is, of which one was not copied from another. There is only one class of accidents of omission which admits of any particular explanation, such as may justify us in supposing the possibility that an accident of this class, affecting a particular passage, might occur in a few unconnected copies. The omissions referred to are those which proceed from the circumstance, that one clause ends with the same word or the same series of syllables as another following it, so that the eye of a transcriber may glance from the former to the latter ending, and omit the intervening words;—omissions in consequence of an *homoioteleuton* (that is, "like ending"), as they are technically called. But this cause of omission does not exist in the passage before us.

If, then, the words ascribed to Jesus originally made a part of Luke's Gospel, they must have been omitted by design; and this supposition has been resorted to. It has been suggested that they were struck out

by catholic Christians, that the Marcionites might not use them in defence of their opinions.*

As I have elsewhere (in Part III. of this work) more fully explained, the Marcionites, in common with the other Gnostics, regarded Judaism as a very imperfect dispensation, with which Christianity in many respects stood in contrast; they conceived of it as proceeding not from the true God, but from an inferior god, who had fashioned this material world; and they believed that the Apostles generally, through their Jewish prejudices, did not fully comprehend the character of Christianity. In the passage before us, our Lord is represented as saying to two of the principal Apostles,—"Ye know not of what spirit ye are;" that is, as I doubt not that the words should be understood, "Ye know not the spirit of my religion;" and in his own conduct he presents the spirit of Christianity in contrast with what was conceived to be the spirit of Judaism, as exemplified in the story concerning Elijah.† The passage, therefore, is one which the Marcionites might naturally have thought to be very much to their purpose.

But we cannot thus account for its omission. Nor can we adopt any other supposition, which is designed to explain its absence from so many copies on the ground of there being something obnoxious in its character.

There is no evidence, and no probability, that transcribers among catholic Christians were accustomed to omit passages through the influence of any theological prejudice, or because they might seem to them to present a difficulty, of whatever kind that might be. If such had been the fact, there must have been abundant evidence of it in the present state of the authorities for settling the text of the New Testament; but such evidence does not exist. Catholic Christians, to say nothing of their reverence for the Scriptures, were not so deficient in honesty and in good sense as to adopt or countenance such a course. In regard to the passage before us, every transcriber must have shrunk from thus dealing with the words of Jesus himself. Without doubt, likewise, the generality of those engaged in the transcription and sale of books pursued their business as a trade, and troubled themselves little about the bearing of particular passages.

But should we admit that some few transcribers were so alarmed

* "Orthodoxi hæc videntur delevisse, ne Marcionitæ haberent quo se tuerentur."—Wetstein, ad locum.

† The story is told in 2 Kings, ch. i.

at the use which the Marcionites might make of the passage, that, though they could not expunge it from the copies of the Marcionites, they struck it out of their own, or that they were, for any other reason, so scandalized at the words of our Lord, that they resolved not to be concerned in preserving them, yet their misconduct could affect only the copies which they transcribed. If we suppose the omission to have been made after the controversy with the Marcionites had commenced, it could not have affected many thousands of copies already spread over the world, nor those copies which might be made by more trustworthy transcribers; nor could it have counteracted the constant tendency there would have been to fill up the gap which had been left,—the tendency among transcribers, of which I have before spoken, to insert and not to omit. We cannot, therefore, account for the absence of the passage from so many copies on the ground of intentional omission.

But it is further to be observed, that the Marcionites made no use of the words of our Lord, though apparently so much to their purpose. If they had done so, we should have evidence of the fact in the writings of their opponents, particularly of Tertullian. But nothing to that effect appears. This is the more remarkable, as Tertullian in his long work against Marcion twice notices the use which the Marcionites made of the narrative, by contrasting the conduct of Jesus and Elijah,* but refers to no appeal made by them to the words of Jesus. Had those words been generally recognized as genuine in the time of the earlier Marcionites, they could hardly have failed to use them.

In discussing the question, whether a passage omitted in certain manuscripts should or should not be considered as a part of the original text, it has not been uncommon to array on one side the authorities which recognize it as genuine, and on the other side those which do not. The intrinsic value of one class of authorities, considered in reference to their general character, is then weighed against that of the other class, and the passage is judged to be genuine or not, according as either class preponderates;—except, indeed, that a zeal for defending the Received Text often causes the critic to lay a heavy hand upon the scale in which are placed the authorities for retaining it. But this mode of reasoning is wholly fallacious. If a passage be genuine, we

* Advers. Marcion. Lib. iv. c. 23. p. 438. Ib. c. 29, p. 446.

may reasonably expect to find it, not in a majority of the copies of the work to which it belongs, but in all the copies, except so far as in particular cases a satisfactory reason may be assigned for its omission. If there be any copy in which it is not found, this is a fact to be accounted for. An interpolation may be extant in a majority of copies. It may have been originally inserted inconsiderately or fraudulently. It may by mistake have been taken from the margin into the text,—a mistake of so very frequent occurrence, that I am obliged often to refer to it.* Having been once inserted, its spread from one copy to many is easily explained by the uncritical habits of transcribers, and their disposition to retain whatever they found given as a part of the text before them. The noted passage interpolated in the Jewish Antiquities of Josephus, in which mention is made of Jesus, is not only quoted by a series of Christian fathers from Eusebius downward, but is extant at the present day in all the manuscripts of that work. It appears, therefore, that the genuineness of a passage is not established by its being found in a majority of the most important copies of the work of which it may be supposed to be a part. To satisfy the conditions of proof required, it should be found in all; except (as I have said) a sufficient and probable cause can be assigned for its absence.

These are general principles of criticism, to be kept in view in regard to the passage before us, and others which we are about to consider. The present passage, indeed, is *not* found in a majority of the most important manuscripts, but it is found in a large majority of the manuscripts of Luke's Gospel, taken indiscriminately, and in many of the versions.

Its omission in the copies in which it is not found cannot, as we have seen, be accounted for as having been caused either by accident or by design. We must conclude, therefore, that it did not make a part of the original text of Luke's Gospel.

* A marginal note has crept into the text, says Porson in his Letters to Travis (pp. 149, 150), "not merely in hundreds or thousands, but in millions of places. *Naturâ*, says Daillé, *ita comparatum est, ut auctorum probatorum libros plerique omnes amplos quam breves malint; verentes scilicet, ne quid sibi desit, quod auctoris vel sit vel esse dicatur.* To the same purpose Bengelius, *Non facile pro superfluo aliquid hodie habent complures docti viri* (he might have added, *omnesque indocti*), *eâdemque mente plerique quondam librarii fuere.* From this known propensity of transcribers to turn every thing into text which they found written in the margin of their MSS. or between the lines, so many interpolations have proceeded, that at present the surest canon of criticism is, *Præferatur lectio brevior.*"

But, on the other hand, the words carry with them strong intrinsic proof that they were spoken by Jesus. Nor can we imagine any reason why, if not uttered by him, they should have been invented and ascribed to him.

In this state of the case, the only solution of the appearances that present themselves seems to be, that the words ascribed to our Lord were spoken by him, that they were preserved in the memories of those who heard him, and communicated by them to others, and that, not having been recorded by Luke, they were first written in the margin, and then introduced into the text of his Gospel.

But the appearances are such, that, this general explanation being given, we must enter further into particulars. The Cambridge manuscript and some other authorities omit only the last words ascribed to our Lord, and preserve the first, namely, "*Ye know not of what spirit ye are.*" And some manuscripts, including the Vatican and the Codex Stephani η, which omit all our Lord's words, omit also the words, "*As Elijah did.*" It may seem, therefore, that the account of the words of our Lord and his disciples was not introduced in a complete form at once; but that the text owes its present state to marginal additions made at three different times; first, the words, "*As Elijah did,*" being written down, as these are wanting in the smallest number of manuscripts, then those first spoken by our Lord, and then his remaining words.

VI.

LUKE, CHAPTER XXII. VERSES 43, 44.

In the Gospel of Luke there is but one other passage of any importance, the genuineness of which there seems good reason for doubting. It consists of the forty-third and forty-fourth verses of the twenty-second chapter.

"And there appeared to him an angel from heaven, strengthening him. And, being in an agony, he prayed the more earnestly; and his sweat was as great drops of blood falling to the gronnd."

Not to mention some other authorities of little consequence, these verses are wanting in the Alexandrine and Vatican manuscripts. They are likewise not in the Sahidic version. In ten manuscripts, three of them in uncial letters, they are marked as doubtful.

They are not quoted by Origen nor Tertullian. The fact is remark-

able, especially as regards the latter writer; in whose earnest arguments against those heretics who denied that Christ had a body of flesh and blood, no passage in the Gospels would have seemed more to his purpose.

In the fourth century, Hilary, bishop of Poictiers, says:—"We ought not to be ignorant, that in very many Greek and Latin manuscripts (*in Græcis et in Latinis codicibus complurimis*) nothing is to be found concerning the coming of the angel, or the bloody sweat." *

Jerome, in writing against the Pelagians, reproaches them with believing that men can will what is good without the grace of God, when even the Saviour was strengthened by an angel. "In *some* copies," he says, both Greek and Latin (*in quibusdam exemplaribus tam Græcis quam Latinis*), we find that "*there appeared to him an angel from heaven strengthening him*," &c.,—to the end of the passage.† Jerome was not of a temper to understate facts from which he was reasoning; and when he says that it was found in *some* copies, we may conclude that it was, as Hilary says, wanting in very many.

Epiphanius likewise reasons from the passage, his purpose being to prove the double nature of Christ. But he says of it:—"It is found in Luke's Gospel, in those copies which have not been subjected to a revision,‡ and the holy Irenæus, in his work against Heresies, uses it as an argument to confute those who denied the real body of Christ;§ but orthodox persons struck it out through fear, not understanding its bearing and its great force." ‖

It is evident, that Epiphanius did not think it safe to assert, that it was found in many copies of his time. It was found, he says, in those which had not been *revised*, that is, inspected, after the transcriber had done his work, by some person responsible for the correctness of the text, a care which was undoubtedly taken of all copies pretending to accuracy. It was found in so few, that, in order to prove its genuineness, he appeals to its being quoted by Irenæus; and not venturing to assert, as he undoubtedly would have done, if he had dared, that it had been expunged by heretics; he lays the charge upon "orthodox persons,"—a charge utterly improbable.

* De Trinitate, Lib. x. § 41. Opp. col. 1062.

† Adversus Pelagianos, Lib. ii. Opp. iv. P. ii. col. 521.

‡ — *ἐν τοῖς ἀδιορθώτοις ἀντιγράφοις.*

§ It is referred to by Irenæus, Lib. iii. c. 22. § 2. p. 219.

‖ Ancorat. § xxxi. Opp. ii. 36.

After the prevalence, in the fifth century, of the *Monophysite* heresy, the heresy which ascribed but a single nature to Christ, and that the divine, the passage became a favourite text with the orthodox as proving his double nature. It had, much earlier, been used by Irenæus against those who denied the real body of Christ. Thus recommended to the favor of the early Christians, and of the orthodox of later times, it readily made its way into a great majority of our extant authorities, assisted, doubtless, by the operation of the principle which led those who had the care of the transcription of manuscripts rather to admit what was of doubtful credit, than to reject what might be a part of Scripture. We have proof from writers of the ninth and tenth centuries of its use in the Monophysite controversy, and at the same time of its continued absence from many copies, for they charge its omission upon the Monophysite Christians of Syria and Armenia. *

The objections which present themselves to the passage, considered in its intrinsic character, are the following. The agony of Christ is represented as existing after the angel had been sent to strengthen him. The bloody sweat described is such as we have no authority for believing was ever produced by mere distress of mind, if it have been by any other cause. The account appears at variance with the character of Christ, and especially with that calmness, self-possession, and firmness which he manifested during the evening and night previous to his apprehension, before and after separating from his disciples on Mount Olivet; and with which his expressions of great suffering, recorded by the other evangelists, present nothing inconsistent. It does not appear how any one could have witnessed, or become acquainted with, the events related; for Jesus had removed to a distance from his disciples, and, when he returned, found them asleep. There is nothing improbable in the supposition, that, even amid the horror of those moments, he told them, for their benefit, in a few brief words, what had been the purport of his prayer; and he might, indeed, have also communicated the facts in question, supposing them to have occurred. But had they really been made known by him, under such circumstances, they were adapted to produce so deep and lasting an impression upon the feelings, that an Apostle, as Matthew, could hardly have forborne to relate them. We should expect to find them mentioned not by one Evangelist only, but by all.

It may be observed further, that, if this passage be struck out, the

* Vid. Wetstein. Nov. Test. ad locum.

parts of the text which it separates come together, as if the passage had been interposed between them, without any appearance of a chasm.

We may suppose, then, that it was a passage first written in the margin of some very early manuscript, and subsequently, through the mistake of transcribers, taken into the text of other copies. The narrative perhaps owes its present form to a misunderstanding of language. It having been said that Jesus, in his agony, received strength from on high, and angels being regarded by the Jews as the ministers of God, it was inferred, we may suppose, that he was strengthened by the mission of an angel. There is likewise ground for believing, that "to weep blood" was anciently an expression for weeping bitterly, and that "to sweat blood" was used to denote a violent struggle; and the account before us may have arisen from taking such figurative language in too literal a sense.

If the passage were, as I think, originally a marginal addition, it must have been made in an early age, and have soon been taken into the text of some manuscripts; for it is quoted by Justin Martyr in the following words, which are remarkable from apparently involving a reference to Luke, as one of the companions of the Apostles:—"In those Memoirs which I affirm to have been composed by Apostles of Christ and their companions, it is said that *sweat like drops of blood flowed from him while praying*." * A little later, as we have seen, it was quoted by Irenæus. It is said to have been alleged by Hippolytus, not long afterwards, in proof of the human as well as divine nature of Christ.† But I find no reference to its appearing in the writings of any other of the Fathers, before the notice of it already quoted from Hilary, about the middle of the fourth century.

VII.

JOHN, CHAPTER V. VERSES 3, 4.

We proceed to the Gospel of John. The first passage to be noticed is the account of the descent of an angel into the Sheep-pool at Jerusalem. I will give the words which are probably spurious in their connection, putting them within brackets.

* Dial. cum Tryph. p. 361.

† Hippolytus is quoted to this effect by Theodoret in his Eranistes, Dial. ii. Opp. iv. p. 89.

John v. 1—8. "After this there was a festival of the Jews; and Jesus went up to Jerusalem. Now there is at Jerusalem, by the Sheep-gate, a pool called in Hebrew Bethesda, having five porches. In these lay a number of diseased persons, blind, lame, withered, [waiting for the moving of the water. For an angel, at certain times, descended into the pool and troubled the water; then, whoever first entered it, after the troubling of the water, was cured of whatever disease afflicted him.] And there was a man there who had been diseased for thirty-eight years. This man Jesus saw lying, and knowing that his disease had now continued for a long time, said to him, Wilt thou be made well? The sick man answered him, Master, I have no one to put me into the pool when the water is troubled. But while I am going, some other descends before me. Jesus says to him, Rise, take up thy bed and walk."

The whole of the doubtful passage is omitted in the Vatican manuscript, in the Ephrem, as first written, in two others of less note, in manuscripts of the Coptic version, and in some one or more of the Sahidic; and Nonnus, who, about the beginning of the fifth century, wrote a metrical paraphrase of the Gospel of John, says nothing of the descent of an angel, but speaks of the water as *rushing forth in spontaneous jets.*

The fourth verse, beginning *For an angel,* &c., is omitted in the Cambridge manuscript and one other; and is marked as doubtful in more than fifteen others. It is wanting in the manuscripts of the Armenian version generally, and in several of the old Latin versions.

On the other hand, this verse being retained, the last clause of the third, *waiting for the moving of the waters,* is wanting in the Alexandrine manuscript, as first written, the Codex Stephani η, and one other.

I find no historical remarks respecting the omission or insertion of the story of the descent of an angel. It is referred to by Tertullian,* but it is not noticed in the extant works of any other Christian writer before Ambrose and Chrysostom in the fourth century.

The pool spoken of in the passage appears to have been fed by an intermitting spring. The story of the descent of the angel was founded on the superstition of the Jews, who, in common with the Heathens, were accustomed to ascribe any remarkable natural phenomenon to supernatural agency. What the former accounted for by the descent of an angel, the latter might have explained by some mythological

* De Baptismo, c. 5. p. 226.

fable. The circumstances of the case altogether preclude the supposition, that, in giving this solution, there was any pretence that the descent of the angel was visible.

In the simple narrative, which alone, I conceive, is to be ascribed to St. John, something, as is not uncommon with the Evangelists, is left unexplained, namely, what is meant by the moving of the waters, and why it was supposed that then only they had a sanative power. This, I presume, led some early possessor or transcriber of a manuscript of his Gospel to write the popular account in its margin, whence it was assumed into the text of others. But for its omission, or the marks of doubt with which it is inserted, no satisfactory reason can be given, supposing it to have been originally written by St. John. *

We have reason to believe that St. John did not adopt the error of his countrymen respecting the agency of an angel in the case in question, because he appears to have been free from another much more general. He ascribes no diseases to demoniacal possession.

VIII.

JOHN, VII. 53.—VIII. 11.

The narrative of the woman taken in adultery is omitted in so many copies, and marked as doubtful or spurious in so many others, that, reasoning on the principles that have been laid down, we may conclude with confidence that it was not written by St. John. But I perceive no ground for questioning the truth of the account; it is related in a striking and natural manner, and bears an intrinsic character of probability.

There are, in different copies of this narrative, great variations of language, expressive of the same essential meaning. This may be accounted for in several ways. We may suppose that the story was first written in some other language than the Greek, and translated into this by two different hands; or that, being first written in Greek, and then translated into Latin, it is found in some copies, as the Cambridge manuscript for example, retranslated from the Latin into the Greek; or, what is, perhaps, as probable a solution as any, that it was written

* In the passage the following words occur, not elsewhere used by John:—*ἐκδέχομαι*, *δήποτε*, *κατέχω*, and *νόσημα*,—beside *κίνησις* and *κατὰ καιρόν*, the use of which in this passage alone may be accounted for by the nature of its subject.

down in Greek by two different individuals, from the oral narration of St. John, and afterwards appended to his Gospel, in which it had not been inserted by himself. The passage may be thus rendered according to what are, perhaps, the most probable readings.

"And every one went to his house; and Jesus went to the Mount of Olives. But in the morning he was again in the temple, and all the people came to him; and having sat down, he was instructing them, when the Teachers of the Law and the Pharisees brought a woman taken in adultery, and placing her in the midst, said to him, Teacher, this woman was taken in the very act of adultery; and in the Law, Moses commands us that such should be stoned to death; what now dost thou say? This they asked with a design to ensnare him, that they might have an accusation against him. Then Jesus, bending down, wrote with his finger upon the ground. But, as they persisted in questioning him, he raised his head and said to them, Let him among you who is without sin cast the first stone at her. And bending down again, he wrote upon the ground. And hearing this, they went out one by one, beginning with the oldest, and Jesus was left alone with the woman standing in the midst. Then Jesus, raising his head, said to her, Woman, where are they? Did no one sentence thee? She said, No one, Master. Then Jesus said to her, Neither do I sentence thee; go and sin no more."

IX.

JOHN, CHAPTER XXI. VERSES 24, 25.

It may seem that the words with which John's Gospel now concludes could hardly have been written by the Apostle. He, I conceive, ended his Gospel thus:—

"This is the disciple who testifies concerning these things, and has written them."

The addition follows:—

["And we know that his testimony is true. And there are many other things that Jesus did, which, if they were severally written, I do not think that the world itself would contain the books written."]

It is hardly to be supposed, that the Apostle would say of himself, —*We* know that *his* testimony is true," subjoining immediately after, "*I* do not think." This is not the style of any writer in speaking of him-

self. The extravagant hyperbole in the second sentence, also, is foreign from the style of St. John. The passage appears to be an editorial note, which, written, probably, at first a little separate from the text, became incorporated with it at a very early period.

According to ancient accounts, St. John wrote his Gospel at Ephesus, over the church in which city he presided during the latter part of his long life. It is not improbable that, before his death, its circulation had been confined to the members of that church. Thence copies of it would be afterwards obtained; and the copy provided for transcription was, we may suppose, accompanied by the strong attestation which we now find, given by the church, or the elders of the church, to their full faith in the accounts which it contained, and by the concluding remark made by the writer of this attestation in his own person.

There is no external authority, properly speaking, for rejecting this passage. In one manuscript, the last verse is omitted; and in several others, it is said to have been thought by some to be an addition. The character of the language, however, is different from that of John.*

I have thus gone through with all the passages of length or importance, in the Received Text of the Gospels, the genuineness of which appears to me improbable. It is obvious, that, should we adopt all the conclusions proposed, nothing would be detracted from the value of the Gospels. On the contrary, we should, I think, only remove from their text some blemishes and discordances by which it has been corrupted.

* The use of ὅσα (*whatever*), as equivalent simply to the relative ἅ (*which, that*), is not common, and does not occur elsewhere in John. It was accordingly changed to ἅ by Origen, Chrysostom, and Cyril; and ἅ is substituted for it in the Vatican and other manuscripts. It is such a use of ὅσος as a native Greek might fall into from meeting with its frequent occurrence in the New Testament, without appreciating its exact force. Καθ' ἕν is nowhere else found in what was probably written by the Apostle. (It occurs once in the Apocalypse; and εἷς κατὰ εἷς is a various reading in the interpolated passage in the eighth chapter of his Gospel.) It is here used illogically, its proper meaning being *one by one, severally*; whereas the meaning intended is *all*. Οἶμαι (in this form) occurs nowhere else in the New Testament or Septuagint; nor is any form of οἴομαι elsewhere used by John.

NOTE B.

(See p. 44.)

VARIOUS READINGS OF COPIES OF THE GOSPELS EXTANT IN THE TIME OF ORIGEN, WHICH ARE PARTICULARLY NOTICED BY HIM.

The following is a collection of all the instances, so far as I have been able to ascertain them, in which Origen, in his extant works, has remarked upon different readings in the copies of the Gospels that he consulted.* If it be not complete, which I have endeavoured to make it, it at least gives a fair view of the state of the case.

I. Matth. viii. 28. Instead of Γερασηνῶν, which, it appears, was the more common reading in his time, Origen says that a few manuscripts read Γαδαρηνῶν, and he himself prefers Γεργεσαίων or Γεργεσηνῶν (it is uncertain which), without expressly saying that he had found it in any copy. Opp. iv. 140, 141, 179. Much diversity of reading exists in our present copies.

II. Matth. xvi. 20. Origen observes, that Mark and Luke, in giving the same account with Matthew, use the words ἐπετίμησεν and ἐπιτιμήσας, but that Matthew, according to some copies, wrote διεστείλατο. In other copies, he observes that the word ἐπετίμησεν is found. Opp. iii. 532. The same diversity exists in our present MSS.

III. Matth. xviii. 1. Some copies, he says, have ὥρᾳ, and some ἡμέρᾳ. Opp. iii. 588. The same diversity still exists.

IV. Matth. xxi. 5. Instead of πῶλον υἱὸν ὑποζυγίου, he appears to have found, in some copies, πῶλον ὑποζυγίου. Opp. iii. 738. This reading is extant in two MSS.

V. Matth. xxi. 9, 15. In one or the other verse, it appears that Origen, in the copy or copies before him, found οἴκῳ instead of υἱῷ. He himself quotes both verses with the reading υἱῷ. Opp. ii. 583. No other trace of the reading οἴκῳ now remains.

VI. Matth. xxvii. 17. It appears that Ἰησοῦς was given as another name of Barabbas, in some ancient copies,—Ἰησοῦν Βαραββᾶν. Origen,

* I have used, as my principal guides, the synopsis of Origen's readings at the end of the second volume of Griesbach's "Symbolæ Criticæ," and Wetstein's New Testament.

according to his Latin translator, says:—"In many copies the name of Jesus is not found as that of Barabbas: and perhaps this is right; so that the name of Jesus may not be given to any wicked person." Opp. iii. 918, vid. et p. 853. The name Ἰησοῦν, before Βαραββᾶν, both in the 16th and 17th verses, is now found in four MSS. and two versions, and mentioned in the scholia of about twenty MSS. as a reading of ancient copies.

VII. Mark. Origen says:—"Let it be supposed that Λεβὴς, the tax-gatherer, was a follower of Christ; yet he was not of the number of the Apostles, except according to some copies of Mark's Gospel." Opp. i. 376. This passage of Origen is not illustrated by the context, nor by any other part of his writings. It may perhaps be thus explained.

There seems to be no reasonable doubt, that the name Λεβὴς in Origen answers to the name Λευΐς, *Levis*, or, as it is commonly rendered, *Levi*, which Mark and Luke give as the name of Matthew in their accounts of his being called to be an Apostle. Now Mark (ii. 14) designates Levi, that is Matthew, as "the son of Alpheus." But in Ch. iii. v. 18, in his list of the Apostles, he mentions James "the son of Alpheus" (another Alpheus). It may, then, be conjectured, that some transcriber, recollecting that Levi had just before been called the son of Alpheus, thought "James" in this place an error, and substituted "Levi" in its stead. According to this reading, another tax-gatherer, Levi (Λευΐς, Λεβὴς), the son of Alpheus, was represented as an Apostle, as well as Matthew, who is before mentioned in the list. This false reading may be supposed to have made its way into a few manuscripts in the time of Origen, though it has now disappeared from all.

From the circumstance, that Mark and Luke give Matthew the name of Levi in their account of his call to be an Apostle, some modern critics, and among them Grotius, have supposed Levi and Matthew to be different persons; and there appear to have been some who held the same opinion in ancient times.*

VIII. Luke i. 46. Origen says, according to his Latin translator, that the words of this and the following verses were ascribed in some copies to Elizabeth; whether by reading εἶπε τῇ Μαριάμ, as Wetstein supposes, or by substituting the name Ἐλισάβετ for Μαριάμ, as Griesbach

* See Clement. Al. Opp. 595.

thinks, is uncertain. Opp. iii. 940. The reading "Elizabet" is found in three Latin MSS.; yet the supposition of Wetstein may appear most probable.

IX. Luke ix. 48. Origen repeatedly quotes the last words thus, οὗτος ἔστι μέγας, but observes in one place, that ἔσται was the reading of some copies. Opp. iii. 597. Our present authorities are divided.

X. Luke xiv. 19. Origen says, that, instead of ἐρωτῶ σε, that is, instead of the clause beginning with those words, there was found in some copies καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ δύναμαι ἐλθεῖν. Opp. iii. 981. For ἐρωτῶ σε, ἔχε με παρῃτημένον, the Cambridge MS. reads διὸ οὐ δύναμαι ἐλθεῖν,—and so likewise some of the old Latin versions.

XI. Luke xxiii. 45. Origen, according to his Latin translator, states, that, in most copies, were found the words ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος, but in some τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος. The latter words, if we may trust his translator, he thought, while writing the passage just quoted, to be an intentional corruption of some ill-disposed persons. They are, however, elsewhere regarded by him as those of Luke. Opp. iii. 923. comp. ii. 414, 415, vid. et iii. 56. Our present authorities are divided.

XII. John i. 3, 4. "Some copies," says Origen, "read, and perhaps correctly, ὃ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἐστιν." Opp. iv. 72. This reading is supported by other extant authorities.

XIII. John i. 28. "I am not ignorant," says Origen, "that in almost all the copies we find the name Βηθανίᾳ, and this seems to have been the case formerly. But I am persuaded, that we ought to read, not Βηθανίᾳ, but Βηθαβαρᾷ." Opp. iv. 140. The latter is the reading of the Received Text, which Griesbach has removed, and substituted the former.

Such are the various readings particularly remarked upon by Origen; and the conclusion is irresistible, that the manuscripts of the Gospels, extant in his day, did not, to say the least, differ more from each other than those which we now possess.

NOTE C.

(See p. 49.)

UNDISPUTED INTERPOLATIONS IN MANUSCRIPTS OF THE GOSPELS.

WITH the exceptions mentioned in the body of the work, the following are the only undisputed interpolations, of any considerable length, which have been found in any manuscript of the Greek text of the Gospels.

I. After Matthew xx. 28, the following passage is found in the Cambridge manuscript.

Ὑμεῖς δὲ ζητεῖτε ἐκ μικροῦ αὐξῆσαι, καὶ ἐκ μείζονος ἔλαττον εἶναι. Εἰσερχόμενοι δὲ καὶ παρακληθέντες δειπνῆσαι, μὴ ἀνακλείνεσθαι εἰς τοὺς ἐξέχοντας τόπους, μήποτε ἐνδοξότερός σου ἐπέλθῃ, καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ δειπνοκλήτωρ εἴπῃ σοι, Ἔτι κάτω χώρει· καὶ καταισχυνθήσῃ. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀναπέσῃς εἰς τὸν ἥττονα τόπον, καὶ ἐπέλθῃ σου ἥττων, ἐρεῖ σοι ὁ δειπνοκλήτωρ, Σύναγε ἔτι ἄνω· καὶ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο χρήσιμον.

"But do you strive to increase from what is little, and to become less from what is greater. And when you enter, having been invited to a supper, do not lie down in the places of distinction, lest a more honorable person than thou come in, and the master of the feast come and say to thee, Go down lower; and thou shalt be put to shame. But shouldst thou lie down in an inferior place, and one inferior to thee come in, the master of the feast will say to thee, Go up yet higher; and this will be profitable to thee."

It is remarkable, considering that this passage is derived from one actually found in Luke,* how many discrepances exist, within so short a compass, between its language and that of the Greek Gospel of Matthew, of the other Gospels, and of the New Testament generally. This difference extends through the whole passage. There is nothing in the Evangelists resembling the obscure antithesis so singularly expressed, with which it commences; nor is the awkward and illogical arrangement of the words εἰσερχόμενοι δὲ καὶ παρακληθέντες δειπνῆσαι consistent with their general style. Matthew's translator does not use the infinitive for the imperative, as is here done in the word ἀνακλείνεσθαι.

The following words and expressions occur nowhere in the New

* Ch. xiv. ver. 7-11.

Testament. 1. παρακαλεῖσθαι δειπνῆσαι. 2. παρακαλεῖσθαι as used of an invitation to a feast. 3. ἐξέχων. 4. δειπνοκλήτωρ. 5. κάτω χωρέω. 6. ἥττων τόπος. 7. συνάγω in the sense in which it is here used. And besides these, the following are never used in Matthew's Gospel. 8. ἐλάττων. 9. δειπνέω. 10. ἔνδοξος. 11. ἐπερχόμαι. 12. καταισχύνω. 13. ἥττων. 14. ἄνω. 15. χρήσιμος.

In regard to the last word, it may be observed, that the use of the epithet "profitable," applied, as it is here, to a course of conduct by way of recommending it, is very foreign from the manner of Jesus.

II. In the Codex Stephani η, it is said that instead of the last twelve verses of Mark's Gospel, the genuineness of which we have before examined, the following conclusion was found in some manuscripts.*

Πάντα δὲ τὰ παρηγγελμένα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον συντόμως ἐξήγγειλαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς καὶ ἄχρι δύσεως ἐξαπέστειλε δι' αὐτῶν το ἱερὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον κήρυγμα τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας.

"And without delay, they made known to Peter and his companions all which had been commanded. And after this, Jesus himself sent forth through them the holy and incorruptible preaching of the eternal salvation from the rising to the setting of the sun."

The difference between the use of language in this passage and that of Mark and the other Evangelists is so obvious, even in a translation, that no particular comments upon it are necessary.

III. The Cambridge manuscript, and two others, at Luke vi. 5, have the following passage.

Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ θεασάμενός τινα ἐργαζόμενον τῷ σαββάτῳ, εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Ἄνθρωπε, εἰ μὲν οἶδας τί ποιεῖς, μακάριος εἶ· εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας, ἐπικατάρατος καὶ παραβάτης εἶ τοῦ νόμου.

"The same day beholding one working on the Sabbath, he said to him, Man, if thou knowest what thou art doing, thou art blessed; but if thou dost not know, thou art accursed, and art a transgressor of the Law."

According to Luke's practice, the first words would not be τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ, but ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. See xiii. 31. xxiii. 12. xxiv. 13. The other form of words is nowhere used by him, or either of the other Evangelists. Εἰ μέν, without the addition of οὖν or γάρ, does not occur in his writings; nor the word ἐπικατάρατος, nor παραβάτης; nor the combination εἰ δὲ μή without the addition of γε. For εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας he would

* See before, p. 217.

probably have written, according to his custom, εἰ δὲ μήγε, simply; as in v. 36, 37. x. 6. xiii. 9. xiv. 32.

But, above all, the dissonance between the words ascribed to Jesus and the general tone of his instructions must strike every one.

The diversity between the characteristics of these interpolations and the characteristics of the Gospels is sufficient to show how different would have been the aspect of the Gospels from what it now is, had not each been the work of a single writer. Any other supposition is inconsistent with the peculiar and uniform character which belongs to them, regarded both as a class of books and individually; and this distinct character is strikingly illustrated by such a comparison as we have made between it and that of these few undisputed interpolations which have found their way into some manuscripts. The results of the comparison are the more remarkable, considering that such a difference is evident, notwithstanding the passages are so brief.

NOTE D.

(See pp. 60, 108, and 113.)

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE CORRESPONDENCES AMONG THE FIRST THREE GOSPELS.

SECTION I.

Preliminary Statement.

The remarkable agreement among the first three Gospels has given occasion to many attempts to explain its origin. But, generally, in the hypotheses that have been framed, it has not been sufficiently kept in mind, that its occurrence with so much that is dissimilar is one of the principal phenomena to be accounted for; and that, though our ultimate purpose be to solve the problem of the correspondences among

those Gospels, it must embrace likewise a solution of their differences. Together with this, the appearances to be explained are as follows.

Many portions of the history of Jesus are found in common in the first three Gospels; others are common to two of their number, but not found in the third. In the passages referred to, there is generally a similarity, sometimes a very great similarity, in the selection of particular circumstances, in the aspect under which the event is viewed, and the style in which it is related. Sometimes, the language found in different Gospels, though not identical, is equivalent, or nearly equivalent; and, not unfrequently, the same series of words, with or without slight variations, occurs throughout the whole or a great part of a sentence, and even in larger portions.

The occurrence of passages verbally the same, or strikingly coincident in the use of many of the same words, which appearances I shall denote by the term *verbal coincidence*, or *verbal agreement*, particularly demands attention. In maintaining the hypothesis, that the Evangelists copied from common documents, much stress has been laid upon it; but its importance, as a ground of argument for that hypothesis, disappears, when the subject is more thoroughly examined, and viewed in a proper light. By far the larger portion of this verbal agreement is found in the recital of the words of others, and particularly of the words of Jesus. Thus, in Matthew's Gospel, the passages verbally coincident with one or both of the other two Gospels amount to less than a sixth part of its contents; and of this, about seven-eighths occur in the recital of the words of others, and only about one-eighth in what, by way of distinction, I may call mere narrative, in which the Evangelist, speaking in his own person, was unrestrained in the choice of his expressions. In Mark, the proportion of coincident passages to the whole contents of the Gospel is about one-sixth, of which not one-fifth occurs in the narrative. Luke has still less agreement of expression with the other Evangelists. The passages in which it is found amount only to about a tenth part of his Gospel; and but an inconsiderable portion of it appears in the narrative; in which there are very few instances of its existence for more than half a dozen words together.* In the narrative it may be computed as less than a twentieth part.

These definite proportions are important, as showing distinctly in

* The most remarkable example is Luke ix. 16, where Luke coincides with both Matthew and Mark, through more than half a verse.

how small a part of each Gospel there is any verbal coincidence with either of the other two; and to how great a degree such coincidence is confined to passages in which the Evangelists professedly give the words of others, particularly of Jesus.

The proportions should, however, be further compared with those which the narrative part of each Gospel bears to that in which the words of others are professedly repeated. Matthew's narrative occupies about one-fourth of his Gospel, Mark's about one half, and Luke's about one-third. It may easily be computed, therefore, that the proportion of verbal coincidence found in the narrative part of each Gospel, compared with what exists in the other part, is about in the following ratios; in Matthew as one to somewhat more than two, in Mark as one to four, and in Luke as one to ten.

As a preliminary, then, toward accounting for the agreement of language in the first three Gospels, we must divide each of them into two portions; the one consisting of that part in which the Evangelist speaks in his own person, and the other of words professedly not his own. Having done this, it appears from the statements before made, that the same cause could not have operated alone, in both these different portions, to produce coincidence of language. We cannot explain this phenomenon by the supposition, that the Gospels were transcribed either one from another, or all from common documents; for, if such transcription had been the cause, it would not have produced results so unequal in the different portions into which the Gospels naturally divide themselves.

But in regard to the words of Jesus, other causes were in operation, that may account for the verbal coincidences among the Evangelists, in their reports of what he said. There was, in this case, an invariable archetype, to which each writer would endeavour to conform himself. Events may be correctly related in many forms of language different from each other. Words can be repeated with accuracy only in one form. But each of the first three Evangelists intended to give the words of his Master as they were uttered by him. Nor is it to be supposed, that the Evangelist, while writing, merely recollected those words as having been formerly uttered by Jesus, and repeated them for the first time. He had often, without doubt, quoted them in his oral discourses, and heard them quoted by his fellow-preachers of Christianity. From the nature of the case, they must, many of them, have become formularies in which the doctrines and precepts of our religion

were expressed. The agreement of the first three Evangelists, in their reports of the words of Christ, is no greater than these considerations would lead us to anticipate. There is no ground for any other hypothesis concerning it.

Some of the same considerations will explain also the agreement of the Evangelists, so far as it exists, in their reports of the words spoken by others beside their Master, particularly such as were connected with his own, as leading to some reply or remark from him.

There is another case in which the first three Evangelists repeat the words of others. It is in their quotations from the Old Testament. These are commonly derived from the Septuagint version, without direct reference to the Hebrew text. Those which they have in common all appear to have been taken from that version; whether they are found in our Greek translation of St. Matthew's Gospel, or in the Greek originals of Mark and Luke. Now, as far as the Evangelists verbally agree at once with the Septuagint and each other, or as far as they verbally differ from each other in their quotations, no explanation is required as regards our present purpose. Neither circumstance can prove a connection among them of any kind. But there are several instances in which either two or all three of the Evangelists agree with each other, and at the same time differ from our present copies of the Septuagint. In regard to this fact it is to be observed, that the text of the Septuagint has, from various causes, undergone very considerable changes, and we cannot conclude that, because a reading is not found in any of our present copies, it was not extant in copies in the time of the Evangelists.* If there be cases, as I believe there are, in which

* This remark may be illustrated by the different readings of two of our present copies in a passage (Zechariah xiii. 7), which Matthew (xxvi. 31) and Mark (xiv. 27) agree verbally in quoting, except that two words are added by Matthew. As given by them, it is as follows:—Παταξω τον ποιμενα, και διασκορπισθησεται τα προβατα (Matthew adds, της ποιμνης). The reading of this passage in the Vatican text of the Septuagint is,—Παταξατε τους ποιμενας, και εκσπασατε τα προβατα. Here seems a great variation in the Evangelists; but the Alexandrine text of the Septuagint has these words:—Πατραξον τον ποιμενα, και διασκορπισθησονται τα προβατα της ποιμνης. Such differences of reading existing in our present copies of the Septuagint, it is not improbable that the copies extant in the age of the Evangelists had still different readings, to which the quotations in the Gospels may have been conformed in some of the examples of verbal coincidence with each other in which they differ from all existing manuscripts of the Septuagint.

two or all of the Evangelists agree in a reading, not only varying from the text of our present copies, but from that of the copies commonly used by them, these cases may be explained by the supposition, that the passage, having been frequently used in the oral discourses of the Apostles and their companions, had undergone a change of its original form. This change may have been accidental, as verbal accuracy was often neglected in such quotations; or it may have been made intentionally, as there sometimes appear to be reasons for it. In either case, it would be the form of words with which the Evangelists were most familiar.

The preceding remarks respecting the recital of the language of others by the first three Evangelists will hereafter receive further illustration. I make them in this place, that they may be kept in view during our examination of those hypotheses, according to which the verbal coincidences and other correspondences among the first three Evangelists are the result of their having copied, either one from another, or all from common documents. No argument for either supposition can, I think, be founded upon their agreement in their reports or citations of the words of others. In this portion of their Gospels, the amount of verbal coincidence is not greater than what the causes suggested might lead us to expect.

There is another consideration to be attended to, respecting the verbal correspondence of the first three Gospels. Whether we take the term in a stricter or looser sense, as denoting either sameness, or great resemblance, or equivalence of language, this correspondence does not lie together in masses. With rare exceptions, it does not extend unbroken through passages of any considerable length. It is in fragments, scattered here and there, and interrupted by a dissimilitude of ideas and language, running through far the greater part of each Gospel. As an example of this intermixture in a particular passage, we may take the account of the cure of the paralytic at Capernaum. As the verbal correspondence of the Evangelists may be made as apparent in our own language as in the original, I shall in this, and in other similar cases, give the passages quoted in a translation. The *diversity* of expression cannot always be equally well represented; but this is unimportant as regards our purpose.

Matthew ix. 1-8.	Mark ii. 1-12.	Luke v. 17-26.
And going on board the boat, he passed over and came to his own city.	And again, after some days, he entered Capernaum; and the news spread that he was in his house there. And immediately many were collected, so that there was no room for them even before the door; and he taught them his doctrine.	And it happened one day, that he was teaching, and there were sitting by Pharisees and Teachers of the Law, who had come from every town of Galilee and Judea, and from Jerusalem; and the power of the Lord was displayed in the healing of the sick.
And lo! they brought to him a paralytic laid on a bed.	And they came to him bringing a paralytic borne by four men. And not being able to get near him on account of the crowd, they removed a part of the awning over where he was, and, breaking through, let down the bed on which the paralytic was lying.†	And lo! some persons brought on a bed a man who was a paralytic, and were desirous to carry him in and lay him before Jesus. And not finding any way to carry him in, on account of the crowd, they got on the house-top, and lowered him down from the roof,* with his bed, into the midst, before Jesus.†

* Διὰ τῶν κεράμων,—which is equivalent to the Latin *per tegulas*, and does not, any more than the Latin words, signify "through the tiling," or "through the roof." To render verbally, we should say "by way of the roof," but the meaning is here more intelligibly expressed by saying "from the roof."—See Wetstein's N. T. Vol. i. pp. 558, 559, and Kypke's Observationes Sacræ, i. 230. See also, in relation both to this and the following note, Shaw's Travels, pp. 273-280.

† To understand the accounts of Mark and Luke, we must attend to the following considerations.

Jesus was in the house in which he usually resided when in Capernaum, and which was probably owned by Peter. This, doubtless, was a small house,—the habitation of one who was not wealthy.

The more common notion has been, that Jesus was in an upper chamber of this house; and that the roof over the chamber in which he was, was broken through. But this, I think, is an error.

There are two objections to this conception of the circumstances of the case, either of which seems decisive. One is, that when such a crowd was pressing to hear him, our Lord would not have retired to an upper chamber of a small house that he might there address those only who could gain admission. The other is, that the breaking through of a roof over his head, with the inconvenience and disorder that it must have occasioned, would have been an act of such gross indecorum as is not to be imagined.

Matthew.	Mark.	Luke.
And Jesus, perceiving their faith, said to the paralytic, Take courage, son! Thy sins are forgiven thee.	And Jesus, perceiving their faith, said to the paralytic, Son! thy sins are forgiven.	And perceiving their faith, he said, Man! thy sins are forgiven thee.
And, behold! some of the Teachers of the Law said within themselves, This man blasphemes.	But there were some of the Teachers of the Law sitting there, who said in their hearts, How is it that this man speaks such blasphemies? Who can forgive sins, except one, God?	And the Teachers of the Law and the Pharisees began to say in their hearts, Who is this man who speaks blasphemies? Who can forgive sins except God alone?
And Jesus, perceiving	But Jesus, immediately	But Jesus, knowing

In essential conformity, then, with an explanation given by Dr. Shaw (in his Travels, as before referred to), we are, I suppose, to conceive of Jesus as in the inner court of the house, the place where, in the houses of Judea and the neighbouring countries, a large company was always received. The bearers of the paralytic, not being able to make their way to him through the crowd, ascended to the flat, terraced roof of the house, passing up stairs, which rose either from the porch or just by the entrance of the court, or perhaps passing over the roof of a neighbouring house; and from the roof where they were, they lowered the sick man down into the court.

There is no difficulty in thus understanding the account of Luke. Mark's account requires a little further explanation. In this account, the word στέγη, rendered "roof" in the Common Version, denotes, I conceive, conformably to common uses of it, the awning stretched over the court, as an awning often was. This the bearers of the sick man partially removed; but having done so, the parapet, which, according to the usual mode of building, ran along the roof over the court, probably about breast-high, as Shaw says it is at the present day, presented an obstacle to their purpose. Over the parapet they would not undertake to lift their burden; for this could not have been done with convenience or safety. They accordingly made an opening through it, which Mark expresses by the word ἐξορύξαντες, "breaking through," without mentioning what was broken through.

This is one instance, among many, of the imperfect style of narration found in the Evangelists. They did not advert to the fact, that what was clear to their own minds might not be equally clear to the minds of readers living many centuries after they wrote. They thought only of those who were familiar with the scenes and circumstances to which their narratives related.

Having altered above, the rendering given in the first edition, which was conformed to the more common conception of the passage, it seemed proper to explain my reasons for doing so. Otherwise, I should have been unwilling to withdraw attention from the main argument before us.—*Note to 2nd Edition.*

Matthew.	Mark.	Luke.
their thoughts, said, Why are ye thinking evil in your hearts? For which is easier, to say, Thy sins are forgiven, or to say, Rise, and walk. But that ye may know that the Son of Man has authority on earth to forgive sins—then he says to the paralytic, Rise, take up thy bed,* and go to thy house.	knowing in his mind that they thus thought within them, said to them, Why think ye thus in your hearts?—Which is easier, to say to the paralytic, Thy sins are forgiven, or to say, Rise, take up thy bed, and walk. But that ye may know that the Son of Man has authority on earth to forgive sins—he says to the paralytic, I say to thee, Rise, take up thy bed,* and go to thy house.	their thoughts, said to them, What are ye thinking in your hearts? Which is easier, to say, Thy sins are forgiven, or to say, Rise, and walk. But that ye may know that the Son of Man has authority on earth to forgive sins—he said to the paralytic, I say to thee, Rise, and taking up thy bed,* go to thy house.
And he rose up and went to his house.	And he rose up immediately, and taking up his bed, he went out before them all;	And directly rising up before them, and taking up what he was lying upon, he went to his house, glorifying God.
And the multitude who were looking on were struck with astonishment, and glorified God, who had given such power to men.	so that they were all full of amazement, and glorified God, saying, We never saw the like.	And amazement seized upon all; and they glorified God, and were filled with awe, saying, We have seen wonderful things today.

Thus, in other passages, in which there is a verbal correspondence among the Evangelists, it sometimes amounts to identity of language, though very rarely through a whole sentence, where they narrate in their own persons; sometimes it presents various shades of resemblance, but, in either case, is almost always broken into short portions, and separated by matter in which the Evangelists diverge from each other; sometimes into real or apparent discrepances. It is evident, therefore, that no theory to account for the agreement of the first three Gospels, one with another, can be satisfactory, unless it afford, likewise, an explanation of their want of agreement, or in other words of the peculiar circumstances under which their correspondences present themselves.

* The three Evangelists use three different terms for bed; Matthew, κλίνη, Mark, κράββατος, and Luke κλινίδιον.

We will now turn to another fact which requires our attention, in reference to the agreement and disagreement of the first three Gospels. It is, that, in the order of events, *related in common by the three Evangelists*, Mark and Luke differ from Matthew, and coincide with each other, particularly in three remarkable instances.

In the first of them, Matthew (viii. 1-4) represents the cure of a leper as having been performed by Christ previously to his being in Capernaum on the Sabbath, as related in the eighth chapter of his Gospel, while Mark and Luke represent what is obviously the same cure as having been performed by Christ after leaving the city.*

Another discrepance, which is more extraordinary, is as follows. According to Matthew, Jesus, in the evening (as appears) of the Sabbath (Saturday) just mentioned, which he spent at Capernaum, left the city, crossed the lake of Galilee in a boat with his disciples, miraculously stilled a tempest, which befell them on their course, arrived in the country of the Gadarenes, and there restored sanity to two demoniacs, returned immediately after to Capernaum, and on Monday (as appears) cured a person afflicted with palsy, called Matthew to be a disciple, was present at an entertainment (in Matthew's house, as we learn from Luke), justified his disciples for not fasting, healed a woman with an issue of blood, and restored the daughter of Jairus to life.† On the other hand, Mark and Luke represent the voyage across the lake of Galilee, and the events of the two days following,—excepting the cure of the paralytic, the call of Matthew, and the entertainment at his house, with the conversation about fasting connected with it,‡—as having taken place at a later period of Christ's ministry, after the discourse in which he delivered a number of parables near the shore by Capernaum.§ No reason can be assigned, why Matthew should not have related all the events mentioned in their proper order. As an Apostle, he had the best means of becoming acquainted with the time and place of different transactions. Mark and Luke, on the other hand, were not Apostles; and in Luke's Gospel there are, beside the present, many clear indications, that he had but an imperfect know-

* Mark i. 40-45. Luke v. 12-15.

† Matthew viii. 16-ix. 26.

‡ To these events they may be considered as assigning the same period with St. Matthew, though with less definiteness. See Mark ii. 1-22. Luke v. 17-39.

§ Mark iv. 35-v. 43. Luke viii. 22-56.

ledge of the succession of events, and was often uninformed of the particular place where they occurred.*

There is, further, what seems a decisive reason for believing that

* Thus the cure of the leper, mentioned above, is represented by Matthew (viii. 1-5) as having been performed just before our Saviour entered Capernaum; but the indefiniteness of Luke's information respecting the place of its performance appears in the manner in which he introduces the account (v. 12),—"And when he was in *a certain city*, behold! a man full of leprosy."—The cure of the paralytic, likewise mentioned above, we learn both from Matthew (ix. 1) and Mark (ii. 1) was wrought at Capernaum; while Luke (v. 16, 17), after saying that Jesus withdrew to solitary places to pray, immediately proceeds, without note of time or place, to introduce the narrative thus:—"And it happened one day." So the voyage across the lake of Galilee to the country of the Gadarenes is related by Matthew (viii. 16, 18) as having commenced on the evening of the Sabbath, when Jesus first publicly appeared at Capernaum, and by Mark (iv. 35) is referred (I suppose erroneously) to the evening of the day when Jesus preached in parables; but Luke (viii. 22) again commences this narrative in the same manner as the last mentioned:—"And it happened one day."

The want of chronological order in Luke's Gospel is a point of some importance. It is evident, I think, in the case remarked upon in the text; but it may be worth while to add a few more instances.

I. Matthew (iv. 18-20) and Mark (i. 16-18) relate, that Peter was called to be a disciple before the public appearance of Jesus at Capernaum; and that Jesus, when at Capernaum, proceeded from the synagogue to Peter's house, where he cured his wife's mother of a fever. Luke, who mentions the lasts events, represents the call of Peter as taking place subsequently, when Jesus had left Capernaum; and describes Peter as struck with consternation at a miracle then performed by our Saviour (v. 1-11).

II. It is, I think, likewise evident, that Luke confounded the discourse called the Sermon on the Mount, which Jesus, as related by Matthew, delivered before his public appearance in Capernaum, with that which he addressed to his Apostles immediately after their appointment (Matth. ch. x). Luke (vi. 12-49) represents our Saviour upon this occasion, not as giving to his newly-appointed Apostles the appropriate directions referring to their peculiar duties, which according to Matthew, himself an Apostle, he actually did, but as delivering the Sermon on the Mount; at the close of which he relates, that Jesus entered Capernaum, and cured the servant of a centurion. To the last events, Matthew assigns the same relative order in reference to the Sermon on the Mount. By Luke, the whole appears to have been introduced out of its proper place.

III. Passing over other examples, of less importance, or which cannot be explained in so few words, I will adduce but one more.

In the ninth chapter of his Gospel (vv. 51, 52), Luke says:—"But when the time was near for his being received into heaven, he set his face steadily to go to Jerusalem; and sent messengers before him, who went into a village of Samaritans to prepare for him." The journey, the commencement of which is here

Matthew has not misplaced the particular events in question. According to his narrative, it appears that they all took place during three days, on the last of which he was called to be a disciple. The miraculous cure of Jairus's daughter he relates as immediately following the entertainment at his own house. But it is impossible that his memory should have deceived him respecting the time when such events occurred; and that he should have imagined them to have been in so close connection with the most important incident in his own life, if they had not taken place till a later period of Christ's ministry. The agreement, therefore, between Mark and Luke cannot be explained by

mentioned, probably occurred some months before our Saviour's crucifixion. It was, as I suppose, when he was going up to the Feast of Tabernacles, mentioned in the seventh chapter of John's Gospel. But the language of Luke implies that it was his last journey to Jerusalem, and is, therefore, inconsistent with the supposition of any subsequent return to Galilee. In the tenth chapter (v. 38), we find Jesus arrived at Bethany (*a certain town*, Luke says, without giving the name), the residence of Martha and Mary, a short distance only from Jerusalem, but in the eleventh chapter (vv. 14-23), Luke relates the cure of a demoniac, and the reply of Jesus to the charge that he cast out demons by the power of Beelzebub, which according to both Matthew and Mark occurred in Galilee. In the thirteenth chapter (v. 22), we are told, that Jesus "went through the cities and villages, teaching, on his way to Jerusalem;" but in the same chapter (vv. 31, 32), we find him still in the dominions of Herod, probably in Peræa; for the Pharisees are represented as telling him, for the purpose of inducing him to leave the country, that Herod, its ruler, was desirous of destroying him; while, again, in the seventeenth chapter (v. 11), Luke speaks of him as on his way to Jerusalem, "passing along the confines of Samaria and Galilee," which implies that he was journeying from Galilee.

Throughout far the greater part of Luke's Gospel, and in regard to all but a few leading events in Christ's history, there seems to me a want of chronological order.

I may here add, that it is far from being the fact, as might be supposed from some of the statements on the subject, that where Mark or Luke differ from the arrangement of Matthew, in the matter common to all three, they uniformly agree with each other. Two examples to the contrary have been given in this note; one, in the call of Peter; and the other, in the reply of Jesus to the charge, that he cast out demons by the power of Beelzebub (Matth. xii. 22-37. Mark iii. 11, 23-30. Luke xi. 14-23). In the account, likewise, of the preaching of Jesus at Nazareth (Matth. xiii. 54-58. Mark vi. 1-6. Luke iv. 16-30), and in the account of the attempt of his mother and relations to abtain access to him while he was teaching the people (Matth. xii. 46-50. Mark iii. 31-35. Luke viii. 19-21), Luke differs from the arrangement of Matthew, while Mark coincides with it. The only important instances of the agreement of Mark and Luke, in deviating from the order of Matthew, are mentioned in the text.

the supposition, that they observed the order of time, and that Matthew did not; nor can it well be regarded as a mere accident, consequent solely upon their both being ignorant of the real succession of events.

Beside the two already mentioned, there is another instance in which Mark and Luke differ in common from the order of Matthew. They place the accounts of his disciples passing through a field of grain on the Sabbath, and of his curing on the Sabbath, in a synagogue, a man with a withered hand, before the appointment of the Apostles; while Matthew refers both events to a subsequent period.

Among the phenomena of agreement and disagreement in the Gospels, the consent of Mark and Luke in differing from the arrangement of Matthew is, perhaps, most difficult of explanation; but it may serve as a test of the probability of some of the hypotheses which have been formed to account for those phenomena.

As regards any hypothesis intended for this purpose, beside accounting for those phenomena, there are other conditions which it must fulfil. It must be consistent with the historical facts relating to the early history of the Gospels, and with the intrinsic probabilities respecting their composition. It must correspond to the habits of the age, and particularly to those of the Jews of Palestine. If we regard the Gospels as genuine, it must accord with the character and circumstances of the first three Evangelists, and, in any case, with the general character of the works themselves. It must explain the phenomena, which constitute the problem to be solved, consistently with all the other phenomena which the Gospels present. These works, for instance, show that their authors, whoever they were, had no habits of literary composition, that they were unaccustomed to commit events to writing; and whatever supposition we may make should be consistent with this obvious fact. And, lastly, any hypothesis, to be admissible, must assign a reasonable motive for what it represents the authors of the Gospels to have done; or, to express the same thing in other words, must not represent them as acting in a manner unreasonable and unaccountable.

In treating of the hypotheses to be examined, I shall use language conformed to the belief of the genuineness of the Gospels. I have already endeavoured to show, that no hypothesis for explaining their

correspondences is tenable upon a contrary supposition;* nor has it been common to maintain any such hypothesis in connection with an explicit denial of their genuineness. I, however, adopt the language in question, principally for the sake of convenience and perspicuity;—to avoid that embarrassment and diffuseness of expression, which would arise from an attempt to present the problem to be solved in its most general and indefinite form. Many, though not all, of the arguments I shall adduce respecting the first two hypotheses examined are equally applicable, whoever may be considered as the authors of the Gospels; so that they would lose none of their force, if the names of those authors were denoted by algebraic symbols, carrying no associations with them. The hypothesis I shall defend supposes that the Gospels have been ascribed to their true authors; and, if it afford the only satisfactory solution of their correspondences, must afford, at the same time, additional proof of that fact. But I do not, it is to be observed, found the present inquiry upon the conclusion which I have before endeavoured to establish, that no hypothesis can explain the correspondence of the Gospels, except upon the supposition, that they were written in the apostolic age, or what is equivalent, the supposition of their genuineness; on the contrary, I trust that this conclusion will receive new confirmation from what follows.

With these views of the nature of the facts to be explained, of the conditions required in their explanation, and of the form in which the inquiry may most conveniently be pursued, we will now proceed to consider the different theories that have been proposed to account for the agreement of the first three Gospels.

Section II.

On the Supposition that two of the Evangelists copied, one from his predecessor, and the other from both his predecessors.

The most obvious solution of the phenomenon in question, which has formerly been very generally adopted, is that the Evangelists copied one from another. In maintaining this hypothesis, we must suppose that the latest copied from the two preceding, and the second in order of time from his predecessor; since there are agreements between any

* See before p. 106, seqq.

two of the three Gospels for which it will not otherwise account. To determine whether this hypothesis be tenable, we will consider a particular form of it, which is as plausible as any other. It is the supposition that Luke copied from Matthew, and Mark from both Matthew and Luke.

I. Now the first consideration is, that when we ascribe to an individual on action of which we have no direct proof, we must assign some probable motive for the action; and there appears no reasonable inducement for Mark to have formed such a Gospel as his own from those of Matthew and Luke. He could not have so deceived himself as to suppose, that he was writing what, to any class of men, would be a more valuable history of Christ than either of theirs. He could not suppose, that it would supply the place, or supersede the use, of either. He could not have written his Gospel for the sake of the small additions which he has made of original matter; for they are so small in amount as to render the supposition incredible. Had it been his object to give supplementary matter, he might, without doubt, have collected much more; and with this purpose, he would not, as he has done, have repeated passages, which, if he copied, he has only abridged.

It may, perhaps, be suggested, that he intended to make a Gospel, which being more brief than the other two, might be transcribed at less expense, and read in a shorter time; and which would, therefore, circulate more widely. But this notion, derived from the booksellers' trade of modern days, is not to be transferred to the times of the ancient Christians. Among their other sacrifices, they would not have reckoned that of a few denarii, if given as the extra cost of a more complete Gospel; nor would they have been unwilling to spare the additional half-hour required for its reading.

II. If we suppose Mark and Luke to have copied from Matthew, there are discrepances between them and Matthew for which we cannot account. It is true, that the simple fact that there are discrepances between two Evangelists does not prove that one may not have copied the other; for the later writer may have intended to correct the mistakes of his predecessor. But the discrepances may be of such a kind as to render this supposition improbable or incredible. Thus Matthew relates, that two demoniacs among the Gadarenes were restored to sanity by Jesus, and that he gave sight to two blind men

near Jericho, while Mark and Luke, in each case, mention only one. The difference is of no importance, considering them all as independent historians; but it is highly improbable, that Matthew would have spoken of two, if there had been only one, or that Mark and Luke would have varied from his account in this particular, had they been acquainted with it. In the narrative of another fact, the withering of the barren fig-tree, Matthew represents it as the immediate consequence of the words of Jesus, as taking place as soon as they were uttered, and the astonishment and awe felt by the disciples appear in him as expressed at the moment:—"And the disciples seeing it, were struck with awe, and said, How suddenly this fig-tree has withered!" * It may seem, at first view, difficult to account for the emotion of the disciples, after all the other astonishing miracles which they had witnessed. But we may understand it, when we consider the striking visible phenomenon presented, so different from any which Jesus had before effected, its startling suddenness, and the peculiar character of the miracle, unlike his former works of mercy, a symbolical act, a visible parable, as it were, intended to indicate the punishment about to fall upon the great body of the Jews, to whom Jesus had "come seeking fruit and had found none." † The account of Matthew is consistent and probable. But Mark ‡ represents the words of our Saviour as having been uttered on one morning, and the effect of them upon the fig-tree as having been first observed by his disciples the following morning; when Peter "*remembered*, and said to him, Master, behold! this fig-tree which thou didst curse has withered." That the disciples remarked upon the event not only when it occurred, but also as they were passing the tree the following morning, is not improbable; and it may have been on the following morning, likewise, and not immediately after the occurrence of the event, that our Saviour announced to them those miraculous powers, which, if they had faith, would be granted to them, as recorded both by Matthew and Mark. We may thus account for the manner in which Mark has represented the transaction. But there can be little doubt that the astonishment of the disciples was expressed directly after the occurrence of the miracle; nor can we suppose, that

* See Matthew xxi. 18, seqq.

† See the parable of the barren fig-tree (Luke xiii. 6-9), which is to be considered as explanatory of this miracle.

‡ Ch. xi. 12-14, 20, seqq.

Mark, with the account of Matthew before him, would have given such an one as appears in his Gospel.

The differences of narration, of which these are specimens, afford proof, that neither Mark nor Luke copied from Matthew. But the most striking discrepances between the Evangelists regard the chronological order of events. The voyage, before mentioned, across the lake of Galilee to the country of the Gadarenes, with certain facts connected with and following it, is, as we have seen, clearly referred by Matthew to a particular period of Christ's ministry; nor can there, I think, be a reasonable doubt, that he has assigned to those events their true place.* On the contrary, Mark, explicitly and circumstantially, states them as having occurred at a different time. After relating that Jesus taught by the sea-side in parables, he proceeds:—"And the same day, in the evening, he said to his disciples, Let us cross to the other side;" † and then follows an account of the voyage. Now, if Matthew's order be correct, as we believe, Mark could have no good reason for differing from it; nor would he have differed from it, had he, as has been supposed, taken Matthew's Gospel as his main guide in the composition of his own.

Similar reasoning is equally conclusive against the supposition that Luke transcribed from Matthew's Gospel. Being evidently unacquainted with the chronological order of many events, and the place of their occurrence, if he had borrowed any assistance from Matthew, he would have taken him for a guide in those respects.

III. Mark's Gospel, though but about three-fifths of the size of either of the other two Gospels, has in no other respect the character of an abridgment or a selection from them. On the supposition, that he formed his Gospel out of the other two, there is no principle of selection which can reasonably be ascribed to him. A characteristic distinction between Mark and the other two Evangelists is, that he gives, comparatively, but few of the declarations and precepts of Jesus, and his Gospel is more a simple narrative of actions and events. Now this may be explained, if we suppose Mark to have written his Gospel with a limited view, for the use of individuals already instructed in Christianity, on whose minds the words of Christ had been deeply impressed by oral teaching, and to whom, therefore, only the framework of his history was necessary in order to enable them to define and

* See before, p. 247, seqq. † Mark iv. 35.

arrange their recollections; but, if we believe Mark to have been familiar with the other two Gospels, we cannot imagine him to have believed another history necessary for such a purpose. He must have written his own with a view more prospective; and this being supposed, it is not credible that he should have thought it advisable to omit a large portion of the words of our Saviour, and many striking incidents in his life, which, being in the books before him, it would have cost him only the labor of transcription to preserve in his own. As I have said, no rational principle of selection can be assigned to account for what he has taken and what he has omitted. Should it be said, that he thought the other Gospels would go down to posterity together with his own, the question recurs, What was his purpose in writing? Why did he undertake this labor, evidently foreign from his habits of mind?

IV. Let us view the subject under another aspect. To the accounts which Mark gives in common with the other Evangelists, he often adds particular circumstances not narrated by them. But he who is acquainted with the minor particulars of an event is, of course, well acquainted with its principal features. Now, the knowledge of those particulars which he has added not being derived by him from the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, it follows, that he was not dependent upon those Gospels for a knowledge of the main fact itself. Sometimes Mark varies in his accounts from one or both of the other Evangelists. There is a discrepance between them. If he used their Gospels, he would thus have varied from them only for the purpose of giving what he believed a more accurate account than they had done. In all such cases as have been mentioned, it is clear that Mark, believing himself to be fully and correctly possessed of the facts, might have written as he has done without any knowledge of the other two Evangelists. When, with the differences that have been mentioned, there is a striking difference of language likewise, it becomes apparent that Mark, in such passages, made no use of his supposed predecessors. Of passages of this kind, I will give one as an example, placing in parallel columns an English version of the text of the three Evangelists, as their difference of language may be sufficiently represented in a translation. The passage is an account of the curing of the demoniac boy, immediately after our Saviour's transfiguration.

Matthew xvii. 14-21.	Mark ix. 14-29.	Luke ix. 37-43.
And when they came to the multitude,	And when he came to his disciples, he saw a great multitude about them, and the Teachers of the Law disputing with them. And immediately the whole multitude, upon seeing him, was struck with awe, and, running towards him, saluted him. And he asked them, What are ye disputing about together?	And, on the following day, as they were descending the mountain, a great multitude met him.
a man met him, and falling on his knees before him, said, Master, have pity on my son, for he is a lunatic, and suffers grievously; for he often falls into the fire, and often into the water;	And one of the multitude answered, Teacher, I brought my son to thee, who has a dumb spirit; and when it seizes him, it throws him down, and he foams at his mouth and gnashes his teeth, and becomes insensible;*	And, behold! a man from the multitude cried out, saying, Teacher, I beseech thee to look upon my son; for he is my only child; and, behold! a spirit seizes him, and utters a sudden cry, and convulses him so that he foams at his mouth, and hardly departs from him, leaving him utterly exhausted;
and I brought him to thy disciples; and they could not heal him. Then Jesus said, Unbelieving and perverse race! how long shall I be with you? how long must I bear with you? Bring him hither to me.	and I spoke to thy disciples to cast it out, and they were not able. Then Jesus said to them, Unbelieving race! how long shall I be with you? how long must I bear with you? Bring him to me.	and I besought thy disciples to cast it out, and they could not. Then Jesus said, Unbelieving and perverse race! how long shall I be with you, and bear with you? Lead thy son hither.
	And they brought him to him; and as soon as he saw Jesus, the spirit convulsed him; and, falling down, he rolled upon the ground, foaming at his mouth. And Jesus questioned his father, How long has it been thus with	And while he was coming, the demon threw him down, and convulsed him.

* Καὶ ξηραίνεται. It is impossible to determine in what sense Mark uses this term. Perhaps it should be rendered, "and *is wasting away*."

Matthew.	Mark.	Luke.
	him? And he answered, From a child. And often it casts him into the fire and into water, to destroy him. But if thou can do any thing, have pity upon us and help us. Then Jesus said to him, What means this, 'If thou canst? All things may be done for him who has faith. And, immediately, the father of the child, crying out with tears, said, I have faith; help thou my want of faith. Then Jesus, seeing that the multitude was running together to the spot, rebuked the unclean spirit, saying to it, Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I command thee, come out of him and enter him no more. And uttering a cry, and convulsing him much, it came out of him. And he was as if dead, so that many said, He is dead. But Jesus, taking him by the hand, raised him, and he stood up.	
And Jesus rebuked the demon, so that it came out of him, and the boy was well from that hour.		But Jesus rebuked the unclean spirit, and healed the child, and delivered him to his father.
		And all were astonished at this display of the power of God.
Then the disciples came to Jesus apart, and said, Why could we not cast it out? And Jesus said to them, Through your want of faith; for I tell you in truth, had ye faith as a grain of mustard-seed, should you say to this mountain, Remove from this place to that, it would	And after he had entered a house, his disciples asked him, privately, Why could we not cast it out? And he said to them,	

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Matthew.	Mark.	Luke.
remove; and nothing would be impossible to you. But it is only through prayer and fasting that this race may be expelled.	By nothing but prayer and fasting can this race be cast out.	

In this passage, as in others, it is clear, not merely that Mark did not copy Matthew or Luke; but that no one of the Evangelists copied either of the other two. This is not a matter of argument, it is only the statement of a fact apparent on inspection.

V. But it may be said, that no one supposes that Mark derived his knowledge of the events in Christ's ministry solely from the Gospels of Matthew and Luke; on the contrary, as a preacher of Christianity, he must have been well acquainted with them from other sources. Nor is it maintained, that he transcribed from one or the other in every case where he relates the same events. But what is contended for is, that he made use of their Gospels, particularly that of Matthew, in composing his own; and that this supposition is proved by the remarkable correspondences between his Gospel and each of the other two, in various passages. These resemblances, it may be urged, are so great, as to render it highly probable that one Evangelist copied from another.

In this reasoning it is supposed that one Evangelist copied from another, because the resemblance between them is so great. I answer, that very few instances can be pointed out, in which this supposition does not require a much greater resemblance than exists; and that most of the passages in which it is found, instead of rendering it probable that one Evangelist transcribed from another, afford strong reasons for an opposite conclusion. I will quote, for example, the account of the call of Matthew, the entertainment in his house, and the conversation occasioned by it, as given by the three Evangelists.

Matthew ix. 9-17.	Mark ii. 14-22.	Luke v. 27-39.
(v. 9.) And Jesus, as he was passing thence, saw a man, called Matthew, sitting to receive the customs; and said to	(v. 14.) And, as he was passing along, he saw Levi, the son of Alpheus, sitting to receive the customs; and said to him,	(v. 27.) And after this, Jesus went out, and saw a tax-gatherer, by the name of Levi, sitting to receive the customs; and said to

Matthew.	Mark.	Luke.
him, Come with me. And he arose and went with him.	Come with me. And he arose and went with him.	him, Come with me. (v. 28.) And leaving every thing, he arose and went with him.
(v. 10.) And while Jesus was at table in his house, lo! many tax-gatherers and sinners, who had come, were at table with Jesus and his disciples.	(v. 15.) And while Jesus was at table in his house, many tax-gatherers and sinners also were at table with Jesus and his disciples; for there were many who had followed him.	(v. 29.) And Levi made a great entertainment for him in his house; and there was a great number of tax-gatherers and others, who were at table with them.
(v. 11.) And the Pharisees, seeing this, said to his disciples, Why does your teacher eat with these tax-gatherers and sinners?	(v. 16.) And the Teachers of the Law and the Pharisees, seeing him eating with the tax-gatherers and sinners, said to his disciples, How is it that he is eating and drinking with these tax-gatherers and sinners?	(v. 30.) But their Teachers of the Law, and the Pharisees, murmured at this, saying to his disciples, Why are ye eating and drinking with these tax-gatherers and sinners?
(v. 12.) But Jesus hearing this, said to them, The well need not a physician, but the sick.	(v. 17.) And Jesus hearing this, said to them, The well need not a physician, but the sick.	(v. 31.) And Jesus answering, said to them, They who are in health need not a physician, but the sick.
(v. 13.) But go ye, and learn what this means, *I desire goodness and not sacrifices.* For I did not come to give an invitation to righteous men, but to sinners.	I did not come to give an invitation to righteous men, but to sinners.	(v. 32.) I have not come to call righteous men, but sinners, to reformation.
(v. 14.) Then the disciples of John came to him and said, Why, when we and the Pharisees fast often, do not thy disciples fast?	(v. 18.) And the disciples of John and the Pharisees were keeping a fast; and they came and said to him, Why, when the disciples of John and those of the Pharisees are fasting, do not thy disciples fast?	(v. 33.) But they said to him, Why, when the disciples of John are continually fasting and making supplications, and likewise those of the Pharisees, are thine eating and drinking?
(v. 15.) And Jesus said	(v. 19.) And Jesus said	(v. 34.) But he said

Matthew.	Mark.	Luke.
to them, Can the companions of the bridegroom mourn, so long as the bridegroom is with them?	to them, Can the companions of the bridegroom fast, while the bridegroom is with them? As long as they have the bridegroom with them they cannot fast.	to them, Can ye make the companions of the bridegroom fast, while the bridegroom is with them?
But the days are coming, when the bridegroom will be taken from them; and then will they fast.	(v. 20.) But the days are coming, when the bridegroom will be taken from them; and then will they fast in that day.	(v. 35.) But the days are coming, when the bridegroom will be taken from them; then will they fast in those days.
		(v. 36.) Then he spake a parable to them: No one takes a patch from a new garment to put upon an old garment; otherwise the new garment would be cut, and the patch from the new would not match with the old.
(v. 16.) No one puts a patch of undressed cloth upon an old garment; for the piece would tear away from the garment, and a worse rent be made.	(v. 21.) No one sews a patch of undressed cloth upon an old garment; otherwise the new piece would tear away from the old garment, and a worse rent be made.	
(v. 17.) Nor do men put new wine into old skins; for the skins would burst, and the wine run to waste, and the skins would be spoilt. But they put new wine into new skins, so that both may be preserved.	(v. 22.) And no one puts new wine into old skins; for the new wine would burst the skins, and the wine would run to waste, and the skins would be spoilt. But new wine must be put into new skins.	(v. 37.) And no one puts new wine into old skins; for the new wine would burst the skins, and it would run to waste, and the skins would be spoilt. (v. 38.) But new wine must be put into new skins, so that both may be preserved.
		(v. 39.) And no one after drinking old wine immediately wishes for new; for he says, The old is better.

The preceding is a specimen of the accordance of meaning and language which is found among the first three Gospels. It is elsewhere mixed with similar diversities. But a comparison of such parallel passages from the different Evangelists shows, I think, that no one of them copied from either of the others.

As in the example given, so generally in other cases of parallelism

among the first three Gospels, variations of expression, omissions, and additions occur, which are not to be accounted for on the theory, that the Evangelists copied one from another; because they are such as cannot be ascribed to accident, and, at the same time, such as would not have been made by design. Thus, in the specimen given, if either Mark or Luke had been copying from Matthew, it is unlikely that he would have substituted the name of Levi, by which that Evangelist appears to have been known before his becoming a disciple, for the name of Matthew, by which he was commonly called afterwards, and which he himself had used in this place; or that Luke, if he had Mark before him, and had preferred the name of Levi, would have omitted the further designation, "the son of Alpheus." Mark, if he had been following Luke, would have retained the explicit statement of the latter, that the entertainment, at which our Lord was present, was made by Matthew; and with Matthew for his guide, he would not have changed the clear and simple expressions used by him in the tenth and eleventh verses for his own more diffuse, and, in the original, more obscure language. Luke, it is evident, was, in the corresponding verses, neither the original nor the copyist of either. The question of the Pharisees respecting Christ's eating with tax-gatherers and sinners is given in different terms by each of the Evangelists; yet, if any one of them copied from either of the others, it does not appear what motive could have induced him to change its form. Similar remarks may be made respecting the other variations of language among the Evangelists, which occur in this passage. But there are differences of another kind. The first clause of the thirteenth verse of Matthew seems to me essential to a full understanding of the meaning of Jesus.* But, whether it be

* The words of Matthew are these:—"But Jesus hearing this, said to them, The well need not a physician, but the sick. *But go ye and learn what this means, 'I desire goodness and not sacrifices.'* For I did not come to give an invitation to righteous men, but to sinners." The words in Italics are omitted by the other Evangelists. But our Saviour's answer, as given by Matthew, is, I conceive, to be thus understood: You reproach me for being with tax-gatherers and sinners; it is fitting I should be; the well need not a physician, but the sick. But do not think that you are less morally diseased than those whom you despise. You, no more than they, perform what God requires; while you insist on ceremonies and superstitious observances, you neglect what is essential in religion and morality. Go ye, and learn what this means, *I desire goodness and not sacrifices.* I came to give an invitation to all to accept God's mercy; and, as regards you, as well as them, I did not come to give an invitation to righteous men, but to sinners.

so or not, neither Mark nor Luke, had they been borrowing from Matthew, would have omitted it as they have done, copying, at the same time, the words which precede and follow. In the next verse (the eighteenth) of Mark, he states explicitly, that the disciples of John and the Pharisees were keeping a fast, which is not done by the other Evangelists. * It is a circumstance which throws a strong light upon their state of feeling when seeing Jesus at the same time present at an entertainment with tax-gatherers and sinners. The fact does not appear in the account of the other Evangelists. But it is not probable, that, if either Matthew or Luke had been transcribing from Mark's Gospel, he would have omitted this circumstance by design, or passed over it by accident. At the end of the fifteenth verse of Matthew, neither Mark nor Luke, if copying his text, would have thought it necessary to add the superfluous words, "in that day," or "in those days." Luke, in the thirty-sixth verse, borrowed from neither Matthew nor Mark, and neither borrowed from him. And with Luke's Gospel before them, there is no likelihood that either Matthew or Mark would have omitted the concluding words of Jesus, as given by Luke (verse 39), which accord so well with the context.

In order fully to estimate the force of the preceding remarks, we must recollect, that no copyist, writing in the same style with his original, would designedly change the ideas or expressions of the latter, except for the sake of some real or fancied improvement; unless, indeed, his purpose were to conceal plagiarism, a purpose which no one will ascribe to the Evangelists. But nothing, that can be supposed a real or fancied improvement, appears in the differences that have been mentioned, or in many others that might be specified in the parallel passages of the first three Gospels. It is particularly improbable that such changes should have been made by any one of the three Evangelists, since the style and vocabulary of all are essentially the same, and, except so far as Luke may form a partial exception, they obviously

* It appears from the Talmud, that the more religious Jews fasted on Mondays and Thursdays. Thus the Pharisee mentioned in Luke xviii. 12 is represented by our Saviour as saying,—"I fast twice a week." Now we have before inferred from the account of Matthew (see p. 247), that the entertainment at Matthew's house took place on Monday. This accords with Mark's account, that the disciples of John and the Pharisees *were keeping a fast* (ἦσαν νηστεύοντες). This coincidence between the Gospels, to be ascertained only by what we learn from the Talmud, deserves remark, as one among many facts of a similar kind which serve to establish their authenticity.

had little command of language. But for some strong reason, therefore, any one of them would have copied literally the already well-known narrative which he found before him, except, perhaps, that St. Luke, if he wrote last, might sometimes have retouched the style of his predecessors. Certainly, no one of them would have made an unimportant addition in one place, and omitted an important passage in another; nor so varied his own account as to render it obscure and imperfect, requiring, in order to be fully understood, that the Gospel from which he copied should be consulted as a commentary on his own. Yet, however we may arrange the order of transcription, all this must be supposed in reference to the two Evangelists, who are represented as transcribers, especially if the two be Mark and Luke.

These observations are applicable to a large portion of the Gospels, but are particularly striking as regards the narrative of the closing scenes of our Saviour's life, his death, his resurrection, and the events subsequent. Such are the omissions and differences from one another in the accounts of the three Evangelists, that, considering these alone, I cannot believe that any one of them had seen the work of either of the others. This is a portion of the Gospels which has been too little attended to, either by those who suppose that the Evangelists transcribed one from another, or by those who suppose that they transcribed from common documents.

It may appear, then, that, beside the particular objections to any particular form that may be given to the supposition that the Evangelists copied one from another, the general objections to it are these. There is no reasonable principle of selection on which they can be supposed to have proceeded. They were, all of them, as preachers of Christianity, well acquainted with the transactions which it was their purpose to record; their independent knowledge of them appears in the Gospel of each; they had, therefore, no occasion to copy one from another, and it is a fact, obvious simply upon inspection, that far the greater part of each Gospel was not thus copied. And, lastly, their Gospels generally, and even those very passages on which this theory of transcription has been founded, present numerous diversities of such a character as the Evangelist, whichever may be supposed the copyist, would not have made, with the text of his predecessor, or predecessors, before him as an archetype.

SECTION III.

On the Supposition that the first three Evangelists made use of common Written Documents.

The supposition that the first three Evangelists copied one from another has found, comparatively, but few defenders in later times, and has been superseded, in a great degree, by the supposition, that they all transcribed from common written documents. This hypothesis we have had occasion to notice in the text of the present volume.* I will state it generally, as explained by Bishop Marsh, who may be considered as having improved upon Eichhorn, from whom he borrowed it. The differences between them are not such as to affect its credibility.

It is supposed, then, that there was an original narrative of the life of Christ, *an original Gospel*,† which contained, in some form or other, all those relations that are common to our first three Gospels. This, it is thought, was receiving continual additions from its various transcribers, different in different copies. The first three Evangelists are supposed each to have used a different copy as the basis of his Gospel. Matthew's copy, beside the original text, contained likewise the additional matter which he has in common with Mark alone, or with Luke alone. Mark's copy differed from this, both in wanting the matter which is common to Matthew and Luke only, and in having additional matter not found in Matthew's copy, namely, that which is common to Mark and Luke only. Luke's copy, in like manner, had certain additions, which are common to him either with Matthew or with Mark, and wanted those passages which are found only in the two last-mentioned Evangelists.‡

The Original Gospel, and the three modifications of it just mentioned, were all written in the Syro-Chaldee, or, as it is more popularly termed, the Hebrew language. Matthew's Gospel was originally written in

* See before, pp. 60, 61.

† I use this term, borrowed from Eichhorn, for the sake of convenience and distinctness of expression. It is not employed by Bishop Marsh.

‡ Bishop Marsh distinguishes between those additions, common to two of the Gospels, which were made to narratives already extant in the Original Gospel, and those additions which were made of new narratives common to two of the Gospels. But this is a distinction not important to be attended to in reference to our present purpose.

the same language. But Mark and Luke wrote in Greek, and each translated into that language the document which he used as the basis of his Gospel. But the verbal harmony between them in that portion of matter which constituted the Original Gospel, before it had received any additions, is believed to be greater than would result from two independent translations of the same work. In order to account for it, therefore, it is supposed, that the Original Gospel, before any additions had been made to it, was translated into Greek; and that Mark and Luke each had a copy of this Greek translation, from which he occasionally derived assistance in rendering his Hebrew document. Each sometimes adopted its words in the same passage, and in these passages they agree verbally with each other.

But, besides the enlarged copy of the Original Gospel, which was in the hands of each of the Evangelists, and the Greek translation of this Gospel, used by Mark and Luke, it is further supposed that there was another document, written in Hebrew, which was used only by Matthew and Luke; the former incorporating it into his Gospel in the original language; and the latter translating it into Greek. This was a collection of precepts, parables, and discourses, which had been delivered by Christ at different times and on different occasions. The name of *Gnomologia* has been given it, with reference to its supposed character. The copies of this document used by Matthew and Luke, though generally agreeing, differed in some respects from each other. It was not arranged with any regard to chronological order. Matthew, being an Apostle, is thought to have inserted the different portions of it in different parts of his Gospel, "having regard, probably, to the times and occasions when the sayings of our Saviour were delivered." * But Luke, who was not present at their delivery, did not undertake to do this. With the exception of only two portions, "both of which have internal notes of time," he inserted in his Gospel the whole collection, as he found it; and it constitutes that portion of matter which extends from chapter ix. verse 51, to chapter xviii. verse 14. But, by a license which must, I think, be regarded as extraordinary and unjustifiable, "he gave," it is said, "to the whole the form of a narrative, in order to make it correspond with the rest of his Gospel, which was not a collection of unconnected facts, but a continued history." †

* Marsh's Dissertation, in the second part of the third volume of his Translation of Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, p. 401.

† Marsh's Dissertation, p. 402.

In order to explain the verbal harmony between our present Greek Gospel of Matthew and the Gospels of Mark and Luke, it is supposed that the translator of the former derived assistance from the two latter Gospels, and borrowed their language in cases where there is a correspondence of matter between them and that of Matthew.

I will briefly recapitulate the steps in this hypothesis. The first supposition is of an Original Gospel, written in Hebrew, and receiving continual additions from various hands. This is supposed to have been used in three different forms by the first three Evangelists, being in one of its forms the basis of the work of each. Besides this document, it is supposed that there was another, a miscellaneous collection of discourses and sayings of Jesus, likewise written in Hebrew, which was used only by Matthew and Luke. Thus, the *general correspondence of matter and language*, among all three Evangelists, and between any two of the Evangelists in portions peculiar to them, is thought to be accounted for. The *verbal coincidences* between Mark and Luke are explained by the supposition, that they both used a Greek translation of the Original Gospel, made before that work had received any additions; and the verbal coincidences between our present Greek Gospel of Matthew and the other two Gospels, by the supposition, that his translator used their Gospels in rendering into Greek the Hebrew original of Matthew.

In maintaining this hypothesis, the genuineness of the Gospels is asserted by Bishop Marsh; and its other defenders have not attempted to free it from the peculiar objections, formerly stated,* to which it is liable, if their genuineness be denied. I shall, therefore, offer some arguments in which their genuineness is supposed. But I think it will be perceived, that, distinct from these, there are intrinsic and insuperable objections to the hypothesis, both from the positions it involves, and from its being founded on an erroneous and imperfect view of the phenomena of the Gospels, so that it neither explains nor is consistent with those phenomena. What the objections are, we will now consider.

I. The imagined Original Gospel must have been a work of the highest authority. This is implied in its having been made the basis

* See before, p. 109, seqq.

of our first three Gospels; and, as is supposed by Eichhorn and Marsh, of other Gospels of a similar character. Bishop Marsh likewise supposes, that it was "drawn up from communications made by the Apostles, and, therefore, that it was not only a work of good authority, but a work which was worthy of furnishing materials to any one of the Apostles, who had formed a resolution of writing a more complete history."* Eichhorn regards it as having been a work sanctioned by the Apostles, and communicated by them to the first Christian missionaries, to guide the latter in their preaching.†

But the language of Bishop Marsh, in calling it a work "of good authority," and "worthy of furnishing materials for an Apostle," is inadequate to express its character, if its origin, and the use which was made of it, were such as have been supposed. It must have been a work of the highest authority. Coming forth under the sanction of the Apostles, and founded on their communications, it must have commanded universal credence among believers. It cannot be, nor is it supposed that it was, a private, unpublished writing. It would not have been kept back from any who wished to possess it. It was translated (as is part of the hypothesis) into the Greek language; and copies of it, therefore, must have been widely circulating, wherever Christianity was spread. No satisfactory account, then, can be given, I do not say merely of the fact, *that there are no historical notices of the existence of such a work;* but of the fact, *that it has not been actually preserved, at least in its Greek translation.*

It may, indeed, be said, that it was so altered, and so blended with various additions, in the different copies and refashionings which were made of it, as, in this manner, to become lost as a separate work. But those additions and alterations, according to the hypothesis, were made by anonymous copyists. They were supported, therefore, by no authority publicly known and acknowledged. No one could be certain, except through private information, by whom they were made, or on what grounds. But the Original Gospel, in its primary, uncorrupted state, was a work of a very different character, carrying with it the authority of the Apostles. If we should admit that some copies of this document, containing certain additions, had been made by particular individuals for their own use, yet there can be no reasonable question, that

* Marsh's Dissertation, p. 363. Comp. Illustration of his Hypothesis, p. 15, seqq.

† Einleitung in d. N. T. Vol. i. p. 1, seqq., p. 162, seqq.

the copies in common circulation would be conformed to the original text.

To account for its loss, therefore, as a separate work, the opposite ground has been taken; it has been said, that "each of the first three Gospels contained the *whole* of this document," and that, consequently, whoever possessed any one of the former possessed the whole of the latter in its primitive state, and could, therefore, have had no motive for procuring a separate copy of it.* This is a proposition which will hereafter be examined at length; but I may here answer briefly, that the fact is not as stated. The Original Gospel does not lie imbedded in its primitive form, in any one of the first three Gospels. We cannot strike off portions from either of them, so as to leave a work, which, when fairly exhibited, any one will pretend is the ancient document in question, or any thing very like it. After the publication of these Gospels, therefore, the Original Gospel still remained a distinct work, and a work of the highest authority, value, and curiosity. It was, at least, as much worth preserving, and as likely to be preserved together with those three Gospels, as any one of the three, together with the other two. But no such work has been preserved; no memory of such a work can be discovered; and, therefore, there is a strong improbability that such a work ever existed. If, for any reason, we were to imagine, that the disciples of Socrates sanctioned and circulated some history of their master, which has disappeared, and of which no mention is extant, the supposition would be less incredible. It would be difficult to conceive of any ancient work so unlikely to be lost and utterly forgotten, as an account of Christ, composed from the communications of his Apostles, and published under their sanction, which had once been in common use among Christians.

II. Respecting the supposed additions to the Original Gospel, Bishop Marsh says, that, in process of time, as new communications from the Apostles, and other eyewitnesses, brought to light additional circumstances or transactions, which had been unnoticed in the Original Gospel, those who possessed copies of it added in their manuscripts such additional circumstances and transactions; and these additions, in subsequent copies, were inserted in the text.† In order to form the documents imagined to have been used by the Evangelists, five

* Marsh's Illustration of his Hypothesis, p. 54.

† Dissertation, p. 366.

such transcriptions of the Original Gospel are the fewest that can be supposed; and these must have been made by transcribers who did not communicate their respective additions to each other. * Eichhorn says, that it had passed through many hands before being used by the authors of our present Gospels; and that its possessors, copyists, and translators, had made additions in their respective copies, either from their personal knowledge, or from the information of credible men, of circumstances or transactions which had been omitted in those copies.† It is supposed in these representations, that many different enlarged copies of the Original Gospel were in common circulation, superseding the copies of it in its primitive state.

But to this supposition are opposed considerations which have been already stated. Accounts claiming the highest credit, as sanctioned by the Apostles, would not have been confounded with accounts collected by anonymous transcribers, as if the latter were of equal authority with the former. A work of such character and claims as the Original Gospel would not have been tampered with in the manner supposed. The original life of the founder of our religion, proceeding from those whom he had selected to be eyewitnesses of the truth, and circulating among their disciples, was not a work to be subjected to a series of interpolations so extraordinary as to be without parallel in literary history. ‡

III. We may next observe, that the supposition that the Original Gospel was subjected to this continual process of fancied improvement, and that so much care was taken by so many transcribers to retouch and complete it, is altogether inconsistent with the genius and habits of the Jews of Palestine, among whom those transcribers must have been found. The Original Gospel is supposed to have been written in

* Dissertation, p. 367. † Einleitung in d. N. T. i. 172, 173.

‡ Considerations of this sort, perhaps, induced Bishop Marsh to change somewhat the representation which he had given, respecting the supposed additions to the Original Gospel, in his Dissertation on the Origin of the first three Gospels, and to propose another in one of his defences of that work. In his Dissertation, he speaks, in common with Eichhorn, of those additions as having been inserted in the text of the copies used by the Evangelists; in his Illustration of his Hypothesis (p. 79), he supposes that they may have been only written in the margin of their copies, each of which, accordingly, would contain the same text of the original Hebrew document, surrounded with different sets of these "marginal additions."

Hebrew, and the additions, in its different copies, to have been made in the same language. But the Jews of Palestine were not writers. They had no profane literature. They had scarcely any acquaintance with other books than the books of the Old Testament. With the exception of these writings, they were not in the habit of relying upon books to preserve the memory of facts or doctrines. Their literature, such as it was, connected almost solely with their religion and laws, was, in great part, traditionary and oral. Now, under a strong impulse, and the action of very powerful motives, writers may appear among such a people, as did the Evangelists and Apostles; writers discovering all that want of skill and facility in composition which characterizes the Gospels; but such being the state of letters among the Jews of Palestine, it would have been very foreign from their habits to commit to writing, in the margin of their manuscripts of the Original Gospel, accounts of particular transactions and sayings, not mentioned in it. Being unaccustomed to the use of books, except those of the Old Testament, and having but an imperfect sense of the utility of books, it is not to be believed that the possessors of that work should, at once, have become so busy about correcting and completing it in their particular copies. They never would have thought of making a record of any new fact which might have come to their knowledge, through fear that it would be forgotten by themselves, or that its memory would perish, unless put down in writing. Even among readers of the present day, different as our intellectual habits are from those of the Jews, and accustomed as we are to rely upon books and writings as the depositories of our knowledge, it is rare to make manuscript additions to a work, of new facts connected with its subject. Especially, one is not likely to record in this manner facts of common notoriety. But those narratives respecting Christ, which we find in the first three Gospels, were, without doubt, such as the Apostles readily communicated, and such, therefore, as were familiarly known to their converts.

IV. Let us suppose, however, that the imagined Original Gospel, with its various enlarged copies, may have existed. Still, we cannot believe that the Evangelists would each have made use of such an enlarged copy of it, in the manner supposed, as the basis of his work. According to the hypothesis, the additional matter in the respective documents used by them had been collected by a succession

of transcribers. But the Apostle Matthew would not have had recourse to such indirect and uncertain authority, for accounts of acts and discourses of our Saviour, which either he himself, or the other Apostles, had seen and heard. He would not have gone among the Christian converts to learn from them what had been communicated to them by himself and the other Apostles, concerning the life of his Master, so that he might collect materials for his history. To admit the hypothesis is to admit that he, though an eyewitness, and the companion of eyewitnesses, chose to adopt the narratives of individuals who had received their knowledge more or less remotely from himself, and from others like himself. It is to suppose, that the information which had been derived from Apostles and eyewitnesses, after passing through various channels, flowed upward to supply its source. The difficulty is essentially the same in regard to Mark and Luke, the constant companions of the Apostles. They would not have adopted the writings supposed, as their main authority. They would not have had recourse to so indirect and unsatisfactory a mode of obtaining those materials for their history, which they might have received, and which, indeed, they could not but be continually receiving, at first hand, from those with whom they were intimately conversant. It serves, likewise, to aggravate the improbability of the supposition in question, that each of the first three Evangelists is represented as having been content with one of the enlarged copies of the Original Gospel, when there were, at least, two other different forms of it in existence, and one does not know how many more. We must believe them to have taken but little pains to procure and compare documents.

V. The supposition, that the first three Evangelists thus formed their histories, is, besides, opposed to Luke's own testimony, and to all the historical evidence which bears upon the subject. The latter evidence is confirmed by its correspondence with what we may reasonably suppose to have been the case. St. Luke thus speaks in the commencement of his Gospel:—"Since many have undertaken to arrange a narrative of the events accomplished among us, conformably to the accounts given us by those who were eyewitnesses from the beginning, and have become ministers of the religion, I have determined also, having accurately informed myself of all things from the beginning, to write to you, most excellent Theophilus, a connected account, that you may know the truth concerning the relations which you have heard."

In these words, Luke recognizes distinctly the accounts of the Apostles as the primary authority for the history of Jesus. To those accounts, it was the purpose of all written narratives to conform. Having constant and direct access to this primary source of information, it was on this, therefore, that he relied. The composition of his own Gospel shows, that he was not satisfied with any of the narratives extant, with which he was acquainted. They probably contained more or less error, the accounts of the Apostles having been misunderstood by the narrator. Luke, therefore, would not adopt any one of these as his main authority. When he speaks of the Apostles, with whom he was conversant, as the sources of information respecting the history of Christ, and of his own diligence in collecting information, we cannot believe that all he meant was, that he had obtained two of the previous documents referred to by him, which had passed through the hands of several transcribers, who had enlarged them with new matter, and that he contented himself with translating these documents, and making a few additions, and, perhaps, corrections.

We learn from Luke, that the written accounts of the ministry of Christ, which were in the possession of some Christians at the time when he wrote, were founded, directly or indirectly, upon the oral accounts of the Apostles. Without such express information, we might have concluded, beforehand, that this must have been the fact. The Apostles must have been continually called upon to relate the actions and discourses of Christ; and their conversation and preaching must have afforded to one conversant with them, authentic materials for such a history as we find in any one of our first three Gospels. That such were the materials principally used by Luke, we may conclude from what has been said. That Mark thus derived his information, is stated by Papias, who wrote, probably, not more than about sixty years after the Evangelist. According to him, Mark accompanied Peter, who, it would appear, was not able to use the Greek language with freedom, as his interpreter; and wrote down from memory those actions and discourses of Christ, which the Apostle had narrated in his preaching.* The account of Irenæus is the same:—"Mark," he says, "the disciple and interpreter of Peter, delivered to us in writing what Peter had preached; and Luke, the companion of Paul, recorded the Gospel preached by him."† Clement of Alexandria,‡ and Tertullian,§ with

* See before, pp. 150, 151.
† See before, p. 84.
‡ See before, p. 90.
§ Advers. Marc. Lib. iv. c. 5. p. 416.

other later fathers, make similar statements respecting the Gospels of Mark and Luke. But it is unnecessary to multiply quotations; since the fact cannot be disputed, that it is the uniform testimony of ancient writers, that the narratives contained in the first three Gospels were such as had been orally related by the Apostles; and that Matthew wrote down what he had preached, and Mark and Luke what they had heard.

VI. There are two aspects under which the character of the supposed Original Gospel has been presented, both equally required by the hypothesis, but irreconcilable with each other.

On the one hand, it appears as a work drawn up from communications made by the Apostles, sanctioned by them, circulating widely among Christians, so as very early to be translated into Greek, and forming the basis of three out of four of those histories of Christ, which alone obtained general reception among Christians as the foundation of their faith. It seems impossible that such a work should have perished, and all memory of it have been lost.

But the hypothesis equally demands, that a different view should be given of it, according to which the writing in question was only a brief abstract of some of the principal events in Christ's ministry. It contained what the three Evangelists have in common, that is, those passages in which they all coincide with one another in presenting the same sense, though, perhaps, in different words. There have been very vague notions of what may be called common in the contents of the first three Gospels; but in the sense just explained, which is required by the hypothesis, the matter common to those Gospels would not form a work of half the size of Mark's Gospel. Accordingly, Bishop Marsh calls the supposed document "the first sketch of a narrative of Christ's ministry,* and says:—"It must not be considered as a finished history, but as a document containing only materials for a history; and, as those materials were probably not all communicated at the same time, we must suppose that they were not all placed in exact chronological order." † They are supposed to have been in the order in which Mark and Luke coincide, in opposition to Matthew. According to Eichhorn, it was a "rough sketch," "defective," "imperfect," "unfinished;" to the text of which the briefest narratives that can be selected by comparing together the parallel passages of the first three

* Dissertation, p. 196. † Ibid. p. 362.

Gospels, and those of which the clauses are least connected, approximate most nearly.*

Now, as the former account of the book seemed to make it incredible that such a work should have perished, so this last account appears to render it equally incredible that such a work should have existed. According to this view of it, it must have been more like a collection of memoranda for a history, than a history itself. No reasonable purpose of a work of this kind can be imagined. It could not have been to aid the memory of the Apostles and the first preachers of Christianity, and their immediate converts. The facts minuted down in it were not likely to slip from their recollection. It could not have been to convey instruction to those who had no other or no adequate means of obtaining a knowledge of the history of Jesus. It was much too meagre for this purpose. It was in no respect adapted to such an end. It must have required a perpetual commentary to render it intelligible. Such a work must have been equally worthless to any class of readers for whom one may fancy it to have been intended.

It may be worth while to add the remark, that if the Apostles collectively had been concerned in the preparation of any history of Jesus, there is no part of it to which, we may reasonably suppose, they would have given more attention than to the narrative of the death and resurrection of their Master. In regard to these events, there was a special reason for comparing together their separate knowledge, as different circumstances had been witnessed by different individuals. But throughout that portion of the history which follows the apprehension of Jesus, there is scarcely ground for a pretence, that traces of a common document may be discovered.

VII. But, in the last place, the hypothesis in question does not correspond to, and explain, the phenomena presented by the first three Gospels. That it does correspond to them is regarded by its defenders as the main proof of its truth. If this proof fail, therefore, the hypothesis must fall at once, without the pressure of those objections that have been urged against it.

We may observe, then, that in order to render probable the existence of the supposed Original Gospel, used as a document by the first three Evangelists, we should be able, in each of their Gospels, to discover certain portions which would easily separate from the rest of the work;

* Einleitung in d. N. T. i. 169, seqq. 188.

and which, when arranged in order, would compose such a document as is imagined to have existed. This document, as disengaged from each of the Gospels, should agree with itself in ideas and in expression, without any other differences than might fairly be accounted for as intentional improvements. The case should be similar in regard to those additions to this document which were used in common by any two of the Evangelists. These results are what we might expect from the use supposed of common written documents. According to the hypothesis, their language was, in great part, faithfully copied or translated; they resembled the Gospels in their modes of conception and narration, and generally in their use of words; and therefore no deviations from them would be made, except for what was esteemed, at least, a good reason. The coincidence among the first three Evangelists is thought to be such as can be accounted for only by the supposition of their having copied common written documents. But, upon this supposition, it would be unreasonable to believe, that they did not uniformly copy those documents, except where they found sufficient cause for alteration. The same may be said of the transcribers, who are imagined to have intervened between the composition of the Original Gospel and that of our first three Gospels; and to have gradually enlarged the former by their additions, till it assumed the three different forms in which it was used by the Evangelists. They would not have struck off from the text of their fundamental document, a work of the highest authority, into mere wanton or unimportant variations. If such a document, therefore, had ever existed, and had been used as the basis of our first three Gospels, each of them would have contained it in something very like its original form. We should still be able to separate it from the additional matter which had gathered round it. But, as has been before said, no such restoration of the Original Gospel can be effected. No such common document, serving as a basis of each of the first three Gospels, can be discovered by a comparison of them with each other. Yet, the defenders of the hypothesis, having recognized that the restoration of the Original Gospel is essential to the proof of its ever having existed, have spoken as if this restoration might be, and had been, effected.

Eichhorn affirms, that, by comparing the first three Gospels together, "we are able, even now, to separate the earlier Life of Jesus (the Original Gospel) from all subsequent additions, and, collecting it out of those Gospels, to restore it again free from all the traditions of

later times;" * and he himself undertakes its restoration.† Bishop Marsh says respecting Eichhorn's attempt, that "he has investigated the contents of the assumed original document as it existed in its primitive state." "The principle which he adopts in this investigation is the following: that all those portions which are common to all three Evangelists were originally contained in the common document." "Hence, according to Eichhorn, the original document contained the following sections which are common to all the three Evangelists." He then gives a table of the contents of forty-two sections (afterwards enlarged by Eichhorn to forty-four), in which the Evangelists relate, in common, the same transactions, and adds,—"These were the contents, according to Eichhorn's hypothesis, of the original document supposed to have been used by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke. They contain a short, but well-connected, representation of the principal transactions of Christ, from his baptism to his death; they are such as might be expected in the first sketch of a narrative of Christ's ministry." ‡ This language is exceedingly vague, since, in the forty-two or forty-four sections of Eichhorn, the parallel passages of the three Evangelists vary much from each other, and it cannot be determined, therefore, what Bishop Marsh meant by "portions common to all three Evangelists," or what he asserts to have been the contents of the original document. Elsewhere he affirms, that "the whole of the document in its primitive state was [is] contained in each of the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke." § Eichhorn's general notion is, that, through a comparison of the parallel passages of the first three Gospels, we may disengage a brief original narrative, the common basis of all, by taking only those parts of such passages as are common to all, and combining them together. But his attempt to accomplish this, if the design were not avowed, might be considered as an argument to prove its impracticability. Of this, however, no other proof is necessary than what any concordance of the Gospels may furnish. The passages of the three Evangelists, which are coincident or equivalent, in that strict sense of the terms which reasoning on this subject requires, are too few, and too much broken into fragments, to serve for the construction of an

* Einleitung in d. N. T. i. 145. † Ibid. i. pp. 186-304.

‡ Dissertation, pp. 192-196.

§ Defence of the Illustration, p. 38. See also a passage to the same effect, quoted from him before, on p. 268.

Original Gospel. The fact may be considered as acknowledged by Eichhorn himself in the very commencement of his undertaking; for he says,—"We are seldom able to determine, as to the words, how much originally belonged to the primitive text, since we are acquainted with it only through translations" (the Original Gospel having been written in Hebrew, while our present Gospels are in Greek). "We must almost always be content with determining which of the Evangelists retains it in the purest state." * The mention of translations in this passage is one of those insertions of an irrelevant thought by which a writer confuses his conceptions, and disguises them from himself and others. What is required for the proposed restoration of the Original Gospel is, that certain passages should be selected from each of the three Gospels, *equivalent in their direct meaning* to passages that may be selected from the other two, and capable of being put together into a regular narrative of the ministry of Jesus. If in each of the Gospels were incorporated a *correct translation* of such a narrative, this might easily be done.

But all that has been actually performed is little more than the simple operation of distinguishing the parallel passages of the first three Gospels, and then arranging in a table the titles of their subjects, in the order of Mark and Luke. The Original Gospel, it is concluded, consisted of accounts of facts and discourses, related in those passages, arranged in this order. But no one will pretend, when the statement is brought distinctly to this point, that there may be found in each Gospel a series of words coincident in meaning with a similar series to be found in each of the other two, which may, therefore, be considered as representing the text of the Original Gospel. The error has been in considering as common to the three Gospels, narratives different from each other, because they relate in common to the same events. Identity of subject has been confounded with identity of form and circumstance.

The accounts in the first three Gospels, which relate to the same events, are in no case strictly the same. They are corresponding accounts, resembling each other more or less closely, sometimes presenting very striking coincidences, and, at other times, diverging into real or apparent discrepances. Throughout those writings, the narratives of the same events present such variations from each other as show that the

* Einleitung in d. N. T. i. 188.

authors of the Gospels did not respectively copy them from the same written archetype, but were independent narrators. To this fact we will now attend.

To the supposition, that any one of the first three Evangelists copied from either of the others, it has been considered as a strong objection, that, in this case, when we find differences in the relation of the same events, we must view them as intentional alterations, that often no purpose of such alterations can be discovered, and, consequently, it is improbable that they would intentionally be made. But it does not seem to have been observed, that the hypothesis of a common document is exposed equally to this objection. We can no more account for the variations of the Evangelists from the text of the Original Gospel, than, upon the other supposition, we can account for their variations one from another. If it be said, that the alterations in question were not made by the Evangelists, but by that series of transcribers who are imagined to have intervened between the composition of the Original Gospel and that of our first three Gospels, this is merely throwing back the difficulty, without removing it. The objection is, not that these alterations were made by any particular individuals, but that they were made at all. At the same time, if it be supposed that those previous transcribers made wanton or unreasonable changes in the text which they were copying, the authority of their copies is still further diminished; and it becomes still more improbable that these copies should have been used by the Evangelists in the manner supposed.

It is to be observed, that it is not the importance of the changes from the text of the original document, that one or more of the Evangelists must have made or adopted, which is the point to be considered; because, for important changes, a reason might exist; but that it is the trifling nature of many of these variations which renders it improbable that they would have been made. With these views, let us compare together the different accounts of the cure of Peter's wife's mother, and of many others at Capernaum, as related by the three Evangelists.

Matthew viii. 14-16.	Mark i. 29-34.	Luke iv. 38-41.
And Jesus, going to the house of Peter,	And immediately upon their going out of the synagogue, they went to the house of Simon and	And leaving the synagogue he entered the house of Simon.

Matthew.	Mark.	Luke.
saw his wife's mother lying sick with a fever.	Andrew, with James and John. And Simon's wife's mother lay sick with a fever; and they immediately spoke to him about her.	AndSimon's wife's mother was laboring under a great fever, and they entreated him for her sake.
And he touched her hand, and the fever left her, and she rose up and attended upon them.	And he went to her and raised her up, taking hold of her hand; and the fever immediately left her, and she attended upon them.	And standing over her, he rebuked the fever, and it left her; and, rising up directly, she attended upon them.
And when it was evening, they brought to him many demoniacs; and he cast out the spirits with a word, and healed all those who were diseased.	And when it was evening, the sun having set, they brought to him all who were diseased, and the demoniacs. And the whole city was collected about the door. And he healed many who were sick with various diseases, and cast out many demons. And he did not suffer the demons to speak, because they knew him.	And when the sun had set, all who had with them persons ill with various diseases brought them to him; and he laid his hands upon every one of them, and healed them. And demons departed from many, crying out and saying, Thou art the Son of God. And he rebuked them, and did not allow them to speak, because they knew him to be the Messiah.

If we imagine an original narrative as the basis of these three accounts, it is evident that two at least of the Evangelists, or their predecessors, must have varied from it in a manner for which no satisfactory reason can be given. It will simplify our language on the subject, and the result of the argument will be the same, to speak of these variations as made by the Evangelists themselves.

It is not probable, then, that Matthew, if he had found the name of Simon in a document sanctioned by the other Apostles, would have altered it to Peter; or that Mark or Luke would have changed Peter to Simon. If the written account, which Luke was following, had simply said, that Peter's wife's mother was lying sick with a fever, there is no likelihood that he would have changed the expression, so as to say, that she was "laboring under a great fever;" or, if this had been the original statement, no reason can be given why Matthew and Mark should have substituted words less strong. With a written account for their guide, neither Mark nor Luke would have thought it

necessary to insert the circumstance, that her friends requested the miraculous aid of Jesus. Nor, if this had stood in the original narrative, could there have been any cause for the omission of it by Matthew. "And he touched her hand," says Matthew; "And he went to her and raised her up, taking hold of her hand," says Mark; "And standing over her, he rebuked the fever," says Luke; whichever of these may be fancied the original expression, it would be difficult to suggest a cause, why two of the Evangelists changed it for another. Luke says, "And he rebuked the fever,"—"and rising up directly," she attended upon them; which words are not in Matthew nor Mark; yet they are not likely to have been inserted by Luke, or to have been omitted by the other two Evangelists in transcribing from the supposed document. Nor would Mark, I think, if he had been copying a previous account, have interposed his favorite word "immediately" three times, in so short a narrative.*

In the account of the cures performed in the evening, Mark and Luke add circumstances not mentioned by Matthew;—respecting the crowd about the door, the exclamations of the demoniacs, and the silence imposed on them by Jesus;—but, in regard to these circumstances, there is no appearance that the two Evangelists used any common written authority. Nor is any solution to be given of their other variations in this account, from Matthew and from each other, upon the supposition, that a narrative of the supposed Original Gospel was taken by each as the basis of his own.

I have selected this example merely for its brevity. It may serve as a specimen of those appearances which run through all the parallel passages of the three Evangelists, and which show, that they did not transcribe or translate from any common written document, because, upon this supposition, the passages must be regarded as presenting evident variations from the text of that document, which it is not to be believed that any copyist, and especially copyists like the Evangelists, would have made. I will give a single other specimen, without any critical remarks upon it, which, like the former, I select for its shortness.

* The word *εὐθέως*, *immediately*, occurs, according to Schmidt's Concordance, forty times in Mark's Gospel; that is, as many times as in all the other books of the New Testament.

Matthew xii. 46-50.	Mark iii. 31-35.	Luke viii. 19-21.
And while he was yet addressing the multitude, lo! his mother and kinsmen stood without, wishing to speak with him.	Then his mother and his kinsmen came, and standing without, sent to him to call him; and the multitude were sitting round him; and some said to him, Lo! thy mother and kinsmen and kinswomen are without, wishing for thee.	Then his mother and kinsmen came to where he was, and were not able to get to him for the crowd. And this was told him by some who said, Thy mother and kinsmen stand without, desirous to see thee.
And some one said to him, Lo! thy mother and kinsmen stand without, wishing to speak with thee. But he answered him who told him, Who is my mother? and who are my kinsmen? And, stretching forth his hand toward his disciples, he said, Lo! my mother and my kinsmen! For, whoever may do the will of my Father in heaven, is my kinsman, and kinswoman, and mother.	And he answered them, Who is my mother? or my kinsmen? And looking round upon those who were sitting about him, he said, Behold! my mother and my kinsmen! For whoever may do the will of God is my kinsman, and kinswoman, and mother.	But he answered them, My mother and my kinsmen are those who hear the teaching of God and obey it.

"The difference of expression," says Eichhorn, and the identity of the train of thought, assure us that we here read three different Greek translations of the same Hebrew text."* It is evident, that, in this remark, resemblance and general equivalence of ideas are confounded with identity. The passages present no appearances, which do not accord with the supposition, that each of the Evangelists, independently of any written document, was recording, conformably to his own conception of it, a well-known transaction, that had been often orally related; but it is impossible that their three varying accounts should have been founded upon one original written narrative, from which its transcribers and translators did not depart without some reasonable motive.

We proceed to another consideration. The verbal coincidences between Mark and Luke are supposed to have been produced by the circumstance, that, in translating the same Hebrew document, both Evangelists derived assistance from a Greek translation of it, which

* Einleitung in d. N. T. i. 248.

had been made before the composition of their works. But the verbal coincidence between Mark and Luke is not great. It consists, for the most part, of single clauses or sentences, rarely extending unbroken through two whole sentences together. It amounts in all to less than the twelfth part of Mark's Gospel. A similar objection, therefore, to what we have just been considering presents itself to this supposition. It requires, to render it probable, much more *identity* of language than exists between the Evangelists, unless we imagine them to have departed, without reason, from their common help, the former Greek translation. It represents both the Evangelists as going through this Greek translation, picking out a few sentences and clauses of sentences here and there, and these, as far as we can judge, the renderings of passages that offered no peculiar difficulty, and, after copying perhaps a dozen words, resuming their own language. The Evangelists would not have had recourse to a translation so defective as to afford them but such scanty assistance.

I will mention one other characteristic of the Gospels, which seems wholly irreconcilable with the hypothesis we are considering. It is the uniform and distinguishing style of conception, narration and language apparent in each. The Gospel of Luke, according to the hypothesis, must be a compound of materials furnished by at least five different writers, the author of the Original Gospel, the compiler who made the additions to it which Luke has in common with Matthew alone, the compiler who made the additions which he has in common with Mark alone, the author of the imagined *Gnomologia*, and himself. I mention Luke's Gospel as the more striking case, because we have this in the original; whereas Matthew's Gospel being extant only in a translation, there is one particular, its uniformity in the use of language, from which we cannot argue with the same confidence. But Matthew's Gospel is distinguished by other well-defined features, though, according to the hypothesis, it was composed of as various materials as those of Luke's Gospel. So also was that of Mark, except that he is not thought to have used the *Gnomologia*. But, throughout each of the Gospels, except in the account of the miraculous conception by Luke, of which I have already spoken, and in some few passages, before noticed, which lie under the suspicion of being spurious, there is no diversity of character betraying the work of different hands. The uniform texture of each Gospel shows it not to be a piece of patchwork.

Each proves itself to be the production of a single writer, by discovering throughout the workings of an individual mind.

Notwithstanding, therefore, the ingenuity and labor with which the hypothesis in question has been defended, I believe the objections to which it is exposed occur, in a more or less definite form, to almost every one who has examined it. It supposes an Original Gospel, sanctioned by the Apostles; yet, had such a work existed, we cannot believe, that, even if the Hebrew original had perished, its Greek translation would have been lost, and no memory of the book remain. It supposes this book to have been treated in a manner without a parallel in literary history, and wholly inconsistent with the authority which must have been ascribed to it. It implies a solicitude about the finishing and refashioning of writings, altogether inconsistent with the character and habits of the Jews of Palestine. It requires us to believe, that the Evangelists copied into their histories the collections of anonymous individuals; when one of them was an eyewitness of the events which he related, and the other two were in habits of continual intercourse with those who, like him, were the primary sources of information respecting the history of Jesus, and the business of whose lives was to afford this information to others. It is inconsistent with the account which Luke gives of the manner in which he procured the materials for his Gospel, and with the historical notices which we have of the composition of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, notices which, so far as they represent these Gospels as containing what the Apostles had before delivered orally, are confirmed by their intrinsic probability. And it fails of its proposed object. It does not explain the phenomena of the agreement and disagreement of the first three Gospels; but, on the other hand, it is wholly irreconcilable with the appearances those Gospels present. For it supposes, that an original document was so used as the basis of the first three Gospels, that it is still preserved in each; while, in fact, no such document can be discovered. On the contrary, in the unsuccessful attempts made to restore this document, it becomes necessary to represent it as so brief, defective, and unsatisfactory, that we cannot believe that such a work existed, because we can discern no purpose for which it could have been intended. The hypothesis implies, that the correspondences of the three Gospels may be separated from their differences by a sort of mechanical process, so that the former may afterward be brought together and form a con-

nected whole; while, in fact, the one and the other are blended so intimately, as continually to appear together in the same narrative. In attempting to account for the correspondences of these books with each other, it presents a solution which requires much more correspondence than exists. And, in the last place, the number of writers whom it represents as contributing materials for the Gospels is irreconcilable with the individuality of character evident in each of them.

Section IV.

Proposed Explanation of the Correspondences among the first three Gospels.

What account, then, is to be given of the striking correspondences, in matter and language, which exist among the first three Gospels? I answer, that the phenomenon may, I think, be explained by the following considerations.

The discourses of the Apostles and first preachers of Christianity must have consisted, in great part, of narratives concerning the life of Jesus. In calling men to receive his religion, they must have made known to them who he was, what he had done, and what he had taught and commanded. All the information which we now derive from the first three Gospels must have been orally communicated by them over and over again. They must have related his miracles, to show on what grounds he claimed divine authority; and the other events of his life, to illustrate his character. In teaching their disciples, they would quote his own words, as the most authoritative expression of the truths which he made known, and as affording the most satisfactory information respecting his doctrines and commands. In these words of Jesus his religion was embodied; they dwelt in the minds and hearts of his Apostles; they would be continually on their lips; and, in quoting them for the instruction of their converts, they would often be led to relate the occasion on which they were uttered.

By far the greater part of our Lord's ministry had been passed at a distance from Jerusalem, either in Galilee or elsewhere; accounts of it had been brought to that city only by report, and had been mixed, doubtless, with many errors, through the mistakes and over-heated imaginations of one class of relaters, and the bitter prejudices of another.

At Jerusalem the twelve Apostles generally resided for some years after Christ's ascension, and it must have been one main part of their duty to present to those who were willing to listen, a true account of their Master's actions, in contradiction to such false reports as had prevailed.

Another cause, which must have led the Apostles to narrate events in the life of their Master, was their applying to him passages in the Old Testament which they regarded as prophetical. In doing so, they must have given an account of the facts to which they believed such passages to relate. The applications of supposed prophecies, that we find in the Gospel of Matthew, would be unintelligible without the narratives with which they are connected; and the same would equally be the case with an oral as with a written discourse.

But, in speaking of the occasions which must have continually led the Apostles and first preachers of Christianity to give accounts of the ministry of Jesus, we must not forget the intense curiosity that would be felt by all but his determined enemies, respecting the wonderful transactions of his life; and the deep interest which every true convert to his religion must have had to learn what might be known concerning him, and to be able, upon the highest authority, to separate the truth from falsehood. The Apostles, and other eyewitnesses of the ministry of Jesus, possessed knowledge of the greatest curiosity and interest; they were most ready to communicate it; and there can be no doubt, that they were often called upon to make such communication, or, in other words, that they often had occasion to repeat narratives of the same events which we now find recorded in the first three Gospels.

It was required in an Apostle, that he should have been a companion of Jesus during his ministry, "from the baptism of John to that day on which he was taken up;" and the ground of this requisition evidently was, that an Apostle must be one who was able to state upon his own knowledge the events in the public life of his Master. Thus St. John says to those whom he addressed in his Epistle:—"What took place from the beginning, what we have heard, what we have seen with our eyes, what we have beheld, and our hands have handled, concerning the life-giving doctrine;—for Life has been revealed, and we saw and bear testimony, and announce to you that Eternal Life, which was with the Father, and has been revealed to us;—what we have seen and heard, we announce to you, so that you may share with us." And St. Luke, whose words may again be quoted, in commencing his Gospel, refers directly to the sources, and the only sources, from which an authentic

written narrative of the life of Jesus could be derived:—"Since many," he says, "have undertaken to arrange a narrative of the events accomplished among us, conformably to the accounts given us by those who were eyewitnesses from the beginning, and have become ministers of the religion, I have determined also, having accurately informed myself of all things from the beginning, to write to you, most excellent Theophilus, a connected account, that you may know the truth concerning the relations which you have heard."* Luke's own Gospel, and all the other compilations which he mentions, were, according to him, founded upon information derived from the Apostles, and, perhaps, other preachers of the religion, who had been eyewitnesses of the ministry of Christ, that is, upon their oral narratives. This source was always open; and, from the nature of the case, any account of Christ's ministry by a Christian, written in the apostolic age, must have been

* Different interpreters have understood some of the expressions in this passage in different ways; but with variations which do not affect the main purpose for which I have quoted it. I have adopted that sense of the words which seems to me most probable. In the last clause, my rendering is different from any that I recollect to have seen ("that you may know the truth concerning the relations you have heard"). Most modern expositors agree in effect with the Common Version, in understanding St. Luke as meaning "that thou mightest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed;" that is, that thou mightest know that they are certain. But the words of Luke are, ἵνα ἐπιγνῷς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, and I conceive λόγων in the genitive to depend upon περὶ and not upon ἀσφάλειαν. The obvious meaning of St. Luke, if his words are to be thus constructed, is, that he wrote in order that Theophilus might know τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, "what was to be relied upon," that is, "the truth," in relation to the accounts he had heard. This meaning seems best to suit the context. A proper cause is assigned for the composition of an accurate history by one who had diligently inquired into the facts. While, if the object of Luke had only been to assure Theophilus of the certainty of what he had *already* heard, it may seem that his simple affirmation would have been most to the purpose. To an unbeliever or a skeptic of those times, the mere history of Luke would have afforded no new evidence. A believer, as there is no reasonable doubt that Theophilus was, had been already convinced of the truth of Christianity; and if the term λόγοι is, as I conceive, to be understood in the sense of "narratives" respecting the life of Christ, St. Luke surely did not mean to vouch for the truth of all that Theophilus might have heard. Many incorrect and false accounts respecting Christ must have been in circulation in the times of the Apostles; accounts, which first were contradicted by their oral narratives, and afterwards by the written narratives of the Evangelists; and it is, I think, a want of attention to this fact which has prevented the words of Luke from being correctly understood.

intended to embody such narratives; the narratives of those who alone could bear personal testimony to the facts related; narratives, which, we cannot doubt, had been orally communicated many times before they were committed to writing by any one of the Evangelists.

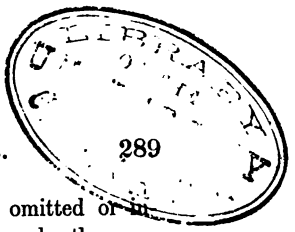
In confirmation of the supposition, that those narratives concerning Jesus, which we now find in the three Gospels, were first orally communicated by the Apostles, and preserved in the memory of their disciples, it is superfluous to appeal to the custom of the Jewish Rabbis, who communicated their traditions orally to their disciples, and required that they should be committed to memory. These traditions formed an amount of matter, which, in the age of the Apostles, probably exceeded, very many times, the contents of any one of the Gospels. Other historical parallels, as they are called, have been suggested. But it implies a very imperfect comprehension of the state of mind, which must have existed in the Apostles, and their disciples, to suppose, that their remembrance of the events in the life of Jesus depended upon an effort of recollection. Their strongest and holiest feelings were associated with those events; the vivid memory of them was for ever present to their minds, their spring of action by day, and their meditation by night. We must not suppose, that the narrative of events the most wonderful that man ever witnessed, and of words the most weighty that man ever heard, was taught and learnt like a schoolboy's task or the traditions of the Rabbis. From the manner in which the Rabbis taught, we learn only, that the Jews were accustomed to oral instruction, and hence may more readily familiarize ourselves with the conception, that long portions of the history of Christ, or, perhaps, a general account of his ministry, were sometimes orally communicated by the Apostles at once.

The business of the Apostles and first teachers of Christianity was to preach Christ, to make him known. To him they constantly directed the view of their disciples. What he taught was the religion of which they were the ministers, his miracles were proofs of its divinity; his virtues were held forth by them as the example after which his followers were to form themselves. As religious instructers, they taught nothing upon their own authority. The Gospels are not now more essential to our knowledge of Christianity, than must have been their oral accounts of Jesus to the first converts.

We conclude, then, that portions of the history of Jesus, longer or shorter, were often related by the Apostles; and it is evident, that the narrative, at each repetition by the same individual, would become more fixed in its form, so as soon to be repeated by him with the same circumstances and the same turns of expression. Especially would no one vary from himself in reporting the words of his Master.

We have next to consider, that the Apostles, generally, would adopt a uniform mode of relating the same events. The twelve Apostles, who were companions of our Saviour, resided together at Jerusalem, we know not for how long a period, certainly for several years; acting and preaching in concert. This being the case, they would confer together continually; they would be present at each other's discourses, in which the events of their Master's life were related; they would, in common, give instruction respecting his history and doctrine to new converts, especially to those who were to go forth as missionaries. From all these circumstances, their modes of narrating the same events would become assimilated to each other. Particularly would their language be the same, or nearly the same, in quoting and applying passages of the Old Testament as prophetical, and in reciting the words of Jesus, whose very expressions they must have been desirous of retaining. But the verbal agreement among the first three Gospels is found, as we have seen, principally where the Evangelists record words spoken by Christ or by others, or allege passages from the Old Testament. Elsewhere there is often much resemblance of conception and expression, but, comparatively, much less verbal coincidence.

Previously, then, to the composition of the first three Gospels, we may believe that the narratives which they contain had assumed, in the manner explained, a form more or less definite. Matthew, an Apostle, would commit to writing those narratives which he and the other Apostles had been accustomed to communicate orally. Mark and Luke, who derived their knowledge from the Apostles, would record those narratives which they had heard from them. But, if the accounts of the Apostles had been committed to writing by ever so many different historians, still, the written agreeing with the oral accounts, and the oral accounts agreeing with each other, all those accounts must have had a striking correspondence. But, however definite might be the form which any oral narrative had assumed, still there would be varia-



tions of language, and minor circumstances would be omitted or inserted, as it was orally related by different individuals, or by the same individual at different times, or recorded by different writers. We should expect, therefore, to find in histories in which these narratives were collected, such intermingled agreements and variations as appear in the first three Gospels. Thus, then, generally, may the resemblance between the first three Gospels be explained. In the oral narratives of the Apostles, we find their common archetype, an archetype, from its very nature, partly fixed and partly fluctuating, and such, therefore, as is required to account at once for their coincidence and their diversity.*

* There are several remarks, which, to avoid breaking the connection of the text, I have here thrown into a note.

1. It deserves observation, that, with the exception of the history of the last days of our Saviour's life, the accounts of his ministry in the first three Evangelists relate to events which took place either in Galilee, or elsewhere, at a distance from Jerusalem. With this part of his ministry the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the strangers who resorted there, being least acquainted, the Apostles would be most frequently called upon to give information respecting it. How little was correctly known among the great body of the inhabitants of Jerusalem concerning the ministry of Jesus, appears incidentally from two passages in different Evangelists. Upon his entry into that city, "The multitude that was with him," says John (xii. 17, 18), "bore testimony that he had called Lazarus from the tomb, and raised him from the dead. On this account, also, the multitude came out to meet him, because they heard that he had performed this miracle." His many preceding miracles, it appears, would not have drawn upon him such attention. Matthew says (xxi. 10, 11):—"As he was entering Jerusalem the whole city was in commotion; saying, Who is he? And the multitudes" (among whom there were many, without doubt, who had followed him from Galilee) "said, This is Jesus the prophet, from Nazareth of Galilee." Thus, in the accounts of Christ's ministry in Galilee, and of some very striking discourses which he delivered during his last days in Jerusalem, we find remarkable correspondences among the first three Evangelists; because these accounts were of a character to be often repeated by the Apostles; while in the relation of the minor circumstances attending his crucifixion and resurrection, there is much diversity; because, however important were the main events, his crucifixion was universally known, and it was universally known that the Apostles affirmed his resurrection; and the minor circumstances attending those events were not adapted to convey any general instruction, and were, therefore, as we may suppose, little dwelt upon by the Apostles. In general we may remark, that, according as what is related was adapted to take a strong hold upon the mind, and was likely to be often brought forward in the oral discourses of the Apostles, the greater is the correspondence among the Evangelists.

2. In accounting for the resemblance among the first three Gospels, we are led

But, in order fully to explain the verbal coincidences among the three Gospels, we must take into view some other considerations. How is it, that there is an agreement in the use of the very same Greek words throughout many passages? We will first attend to this agreement between Mark and Luke, both of whom originally wrote in the

to consider the difference between them and the Gospel of John. To explain it, we may observe, that this Gospel is not properly a history of the ministry of Jesus. It supposes that history, as recorded in the first three Gospels, to be already known; it is founded upon it, and supplementary to it. It relates principally to what took place at Jerusalem, where our Saviour spent but a small portion of his ministry. It consists, in great part, of connected discourses of Jesus with the unbelieving Jews, and with his Apostles, of which much has special and immediate reference only to the character and circumstances of those immediately addressed. It did not, like the narrative contained in the first three Gospels, constitute that elementary instruction in the history of Jesus, which was the first want of the converts to the new religion. Like the Epistles of the Apostles, it implies that this had been already received.

3. But, it may be asked, if it was a principal business of an Apostle to give information concerning the public life, the actions, and the discourses of Jesus, how was St. Paul qualified for his office? I answer, that, during the first part of his ministry, St. Paul, for many years, had Barnabas for a companion, whom we find very early associated with the Apostles,* and a very earnest preacher of Christ. Three years after his conversion, before he had properly assumed the office of an Apostle, he was with Peter fifteen days at Jerusalem.† He travelled first with Mark, and afterwards with Luke, both historians of Christ, and had at command similar means of information to what they possessed. Though, before his conversion, an enemy of Christ, yet, being an enemy full of intelligence and zeal, it was probable that he was then as well acquainted with his history as any one not an immediate disciple. Jesus was watched, during his ministry, by Pharisees and teachers of the Law, some of whom came for that purpose from Jerusalem to Galilee.‡ St. Paul was not likely, therefore, to be ignorant concerning his deeds and sayings at the time of his own conversion, though the whole aspect under which he regarded them was changed by that event. Full as he then was of sorrow, and veneration, and entire devotedness to the cause of Christ, and surrounded as he was by abundant means of informing himself concerning his character and history, and of correcting all his former misapprehensions respecting what he had said and done, there is nothing strange in supposing, that he availed himself of those means; nay, it would be an incredible supposition, that he did not. In his Epistles, we find repeated references to the history of Jesus as it is related in the first three Gospels. The account of the last supper of our Lord is given by him in words, the greater part of which are identical with those of Luke.

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* Acts iv. 36. † Galatians i. 18. ‡ Luke v. 17.

Greek language. This is to be explained by the fact, that, though the native language of the Apostles was Hebrew, yet a great part of their conversation and discourses must have been in Greek. In Greek they must have addressed all who were not Jews; and to a large proportion even of Jews, the Hellenists, born and educated in foreign countries, the Greek was more familiar than the language of their nation. Many foreigners and Hellenists dwelt in Jerusalem, or resorted thither occasionally. The great national feasts, in particular, drew to that city Jews, who usually resided in foreign countries. A considerable portion of the early Christians in Jerusalem was composed of Hellenists;* and with Hellenists, St. Paul there disputed after his conversion.† We find mention of various synagogues in that city of foreign Jews, who associated together according to the countries from which they came;‡ and many of the natives of Palestine were sufficiently acquainted with the Greek language to use it for the purposes of communication. With the exception of St. Luke and St. Paul, the Apostles and Evangelists were uneducated men; yet all the writings which they have left us, except the Gospel of Matthew, were composed in Greek. There would even have been no strangeness, it appears, in addressing a promiscuous multitude at Jerusalem in the Greek language; for, upon the occasion of the tumult at the apprehension of St. Paul in that city, we are only told, that he was heard with the more attention because he spoke in Hebrew.§ As, therefore, the Apostles wrote in Greek, so we may reasonably believe, that, while residing together in Jerusalem, they often taught in Greek, in the presence of each other; and that thus their expressions in this language, as well as in the Hebrew, became assimilated. We may, in this manner, explain whatever verbal agreement exists between St. Mark and St. Luke; especially as it is principally found in passages in which it was particularly to be expected, in reports of the words of our Saviour and others, and in quotations from the Old Testament. Their whole verbal coincidence in narrative does not, I believe, exceed the amount of more than six or eight verses of average length.

The Gospel of Matthew, having been originally written in Hebrew, was probably translated into Greek some time about the close of the first century. The verbal coincidences of its translation with the Gospels of Mark and Luke admit of one, and, I think, only one, satisfactory solution. The original of Matthew agreed with them

* Acts vi. 1, seqq. † Acts ix. 29. ‡ Acts vi. 9. § Acts xxii. 2.

essentially in many narratives and many sayings and discourses of Christ. These, or portions of these, were the same, except their expression in different languages, and the manner of their expression in the Greek language had been fixed by the Greek Gospels of Mark and Luke. But, these Gospels being known to the translator of Matthew, when his original corresponded with them sufficiently, he was led to adopt their expressions.*

One phenomenon in the Gospels still remains to be noticed. It is the agreement of Mark and Luke in their chronological misarrangement of some of the events which the first three Evangelists relate in common. On the hypothesis of an Original Gospel, it is supposed that this misarrangement existed in that Gospel, and was copied from it by Mark and Luke, who were themselves ignorant of the true order of events, but was corrected by Matthew, who, as an Apostle, was better informed. This, however, is only removing one difficulty by creating another; for it would be strange, that a misarrangement, which any Apostle might have corrected, should exist in a work prepared under the direction of the Apostles, and sanctioned by them, especially in a work so brief as to seem rather intended for a memorandum of the chronological series of events in Christ's ministry than for any other purpose. The explanation that has been proposed, of the agreement among the Gospels, in the character of their narratives and their use of language, involves no solution of this difficulty. Admitting the truth of that explanation, the misarrangement in question becomes a separate and independent, though not very important, problem, requiring a solution of its own. But, in our ignorance respecting all but the leading events of the apostolic age, whatever cause for it we may assign must be only conjectural.

One solution, that has occurred to me, is immediately connected with the account which has been given of the origin of the agreement among the Gospels; it is, that the correspondence in the arrangement of Mark and Luke had its source in the oral preaching and discourses of the Apostles. It is not probable, that the Apostles often, if ever,

* I remarked in the first edition, that "the credit of this explanation belongs to Bishop Marsh." I have since observed that Grotius (Introduc. ad Comment. in Matthæum) says:—"Marci libro Græco usus mihi videtur quisquis is fuit Matthæi Græcus interpres."—*Note to 2nd Edition.*

undertook to recite in one discourse, or in a connected series of discourses, all the transactions of the ministry of Jesus related by any one of the first three Evangelists. According to the particular occasion presented, or the special object which they had in view, they would group together events, sayings, and discourses, particularly adapted to their purpose. They would class their accounts of their Master, not narrate them chronologically. To this mode of teaching, we may, perhaps, look as the occasion of the agreement between Mark and Luke in the displacing of some events, and as the occasion, likewise, of the general want of chronological arrangement in Luke, and of the existence of something of a systematical, founded upon a chronological, arrangement in Matthew.

This general solution may be accepted as probable, whether we can or cannot discover any special cause which might have affected the arrangement of those particular events to which Mark and Luke agree in giving a place different from that assigned to them by Matthew. It may, therefore, be scarcely worth while to enter into the inquiry, whether such causes can be conjectured. Yet it seems to me that they may be, and, as the subject will occupy but little space, I will venture to suggest them.

The most important instance of misarrangement, in which Mark and Luke both differ from Matthew, is in the place which they assign to the voyage to Gennesaret, with the miracles accompanying and following it.* According to them, these events took place immediately after the delivery of the parable of the sower, and some other striking parables and sayings of Jesus. These parables and sayings are of a general character, relating to the reception of the new religion, to the importance of listening to its truth, to its future rapid growth, and to the blessedness of its disciples. They are of the kind that might be repeated, by the Apostles and first preachers of Christianity, to an audience that had collected to listen and to inquire; but many of whom had not yet professed themselves Christians. After having, in the words of their Master, warned such an audience, that the seed might fall on good ground or on bad; that they should give heed to what they heard; that the religion, which was but in its beginning, was, through the power of God, to extend itself widely; that to every one who had, more should be given; and that the disciples of Jesus were

* See before, p. 247, seqq.

to him as his dearest relatives,* it would be natural to mention some of those displays of divine power upon which this new teacher founded his claims to divine authority; and, perhaps, no more striking series of miracles could have been selected, than his commanding the winds and waves to be still, his giving sanity to a raging demoniac under circumstances so extraordinary, the cure of a woman, long diseased, by her merely touching his garment, and his restoring life to the daughter of Jairus. It is thus, perhaps, that we may explain how the relation of some of the most remarkable miracles of Jesus came to be connected with the recital of some of his parables and sayings, in which he set before men the importance of listening to the truths which he taught. They were, in consequence, thus connected by Mark and Luke; and the mistake into which Mark has particularly fallen, of supposing that the voyage to Gennesaret immediately followed the delivery of those parables † was facilitated by the circumstance, that they were actually delivered from a vessel on the lake near the shore at Capernaum, and that Jesus immediately after left the city.‡

We pass to another of the chronological discrepances among the Evangelists. Matthew relates, that Jesus, previously to his entering Capernaum on a certain Sabbath, cured a leper; while Mark and Luke relate this cure as having been performed when Jesus had left Capernaum,§ after the Sabbath just mentioned, upon which day he appears, from all the Evangelists, first to have publicly preached in that city. Perhaps this disagreement may be thus explained. As Jesus, during his ministry in Galilee, fixed on Capernaum as his chief place of residence, setting out on his journeys from it, and returning to it, we may suppose the Apostles to have been accustomed to begin some short narrative of his ministry with the mention of this fact, and an account of his first appearance in Capernaum as a public teacher. No particular miracle, except this cure of a leper, is related by either of the first three Evangelists as having been performed by Jesus before that event; and this miracle is related by Matthew as taking place on the morning of the same day. As, then, a brief oral account of Christ's preaching in Galilee would naturally commence with the mention of Capernaum as his chief place of residence, and as this would lead to an account of the first day of his public ministry spent in that city, the miracle of the

* Mark iv. 1-32. Luke viii. 4-21.
† See before, p. 254.
‡ Matthew xiii. i. 53.
§ See before, p. 247.

cure of the leper, which preceded his entrance into it, must either have been passed over in silence, or introduced subsequently into the narrative. I suppose the latter course to have been adopted, on account of its being a miracle that excited particular attention, and to which particular importance had been attached; as appears from its being related circumstantially by all three of the Evangelists, and from the fact, that Mark and Luke represent it as a special cause why great multitudes flocked to Jesus. The particular impression which this miracle produced may be ascribed to its probably being the first, or one of the first, that Jesus performed in Capernaum or its immediate neighbourhood, and the first, therefore, which most of the spectators of it had witnessed; to the horror with which leprosy was regarded among the Jews; to the confidence manifested by Jesus in putting his hand upon the infectious sufferer; to the incurable state of the disease by natural means; for he "was full of leprosy;" * and to the circumstance of our Saviour's sending the man to the priests, who were already his enemies, that they might certify, in effect, that a miracle had been performed.

In the only remaining case of any importance, in which Mark and Luke agree together in differing from the arrangement of Matthew, the application of the general solution that has been proposed is obvious. According to this, narratives bearing upon the same point would be brought together in the oral discourses of the Apostles. Now there are two narratives, one relating to the disciples of Jesus plucking ears of grain on the Sabbath, and the other to the miraculous cure of a man with a withered hand, likewise on the Sabbath, which stand in immediate connection in all three Evangelists. But, by Mark and Luke, an earlier period is assigned to these events than by Matthew.† They record them immediately after their account of the conversation with the disciples of John and the Pharisees concerning fasting, which occurred at Capernaum. The two narratives were, I believe, brought into connection with this account of our Saviour's discourse concerning fasting, from the circumstance, that all three relations bear directly on the same subject, the worthless character of the ceremonial and superstitious observances of the Jews. In the one case, Jesus gave them to understand his estimate of their stated weekly fasts, and in the other, of their bigotry about the keeping of the Sabbath.

* Luke v. 12. † See before, p. 250.

Thus the phenomenon of the misarrangement of events by Mark and Luke, in opposition to Matthew, may be accounted for. But another solution of it may likewise be given. Among the narratives relating to Jesus mentioned by Luke in the beginning of his Gospel, there may have been one which had obtained more credit and a wider circulation than any other. Now, without supposing Mark or Luke to have drawn their narratives from it, or to have relied upon it as an authority for individual facts, or to have used its language, except so far as it coincided with forms of expression already familiar to them, they still may both have used it as a guide in respect to the succession of those events, with the true order of which it appears that they both were unacquainted. It is to be observed, that it is only their coincidence with each other that presents any difficulty. The misarrangement in any one narrative, which they may be supposed to have used in common, requires no particular explanation.

To return, then, to our general position, we suppose that the correspondences among the first three Gospels are to be explained by the fact, that the oral narratives of the Apostles were their common archetype. Upon the supposition that those Gospels are genuine, it may be worth while to observe how little is assumed in coming to this conclusion, of which there can be any reasonable doubt. A great part of the oral discourses of the Apostles must have been historical; for the acts and words of Jesus were the foundation of all that they taught, and the first object of the faith of their converts. And, when one of their number and two of their constant companions committed to writing, accounts of their common Master, it could not be otherwise than that these written accounts should strikingly correspond with those which had been orally delivered, and, consequently, with each other.

Section V.

Inferences from the Explanation which has been given of the Correspondences among the first three Gospels.

The appearances which the first three Gospels present, when compared together, are adapted to excite our curiosity and interest, because they are of so remarkable a character as to imply that some extraordinary cause must have operated to produce them; and that the discovery of this cause will throw light on the early history of Christianity. Let us

see, then, what, if we have reasoned correctly, may be inferred from the preceding investigation.

The conclusion, that no one of the first three Evangelists copied from either of the other two, is important, as showing that their Gospels afford three distinct sources of information concerning the life of Jesus. The Evangelists, therefore, in their striking correspondence in the representations of his character, miracles, and doctrines, must be considered as strongly confirming each other's testimony. Nothing but reality, nothing but the fact, that Jesus had acted and taught as they represent, would have stamped his character and story so definitely and vividly on the minds of individuals ignorant of each other's writings, and enabled them to give narratives, each so consistent with itself, and all so accordant with one another. A false story concerning an imaginary character would have preserved no uniform type. It would have varied in its aspect according to the different temperament and talents, the conceptions and purposes, of its various narrators.

We may next observe, that if the notion that one Evangelist copied from another be given up, then the accordance among the first three Gospels proves them all to have been written at an early period, when the sources of authentic information were yet fully accessible, and before any interval had elapsed, during which the thousand exaggerations, perversions, and fables, to which the wonderful history of Jesus was particularly exposed, had had time to flow in and to change its character as it might appear in different narratives.

If the Evangelists did not copy one from another, it follows, that the first three Gospels must all have been written about the same period; since, if one had preceded another by any considerable length of time, it cannot be supposed that the author of the later Gospel would have been unacquainted with the work of his predecessor, or would have neglected to make use of it; especially when we take into view, that its reputation must have been well established among Christians. Whatever antiquity, therefore, we can show to belong to any one of the first three Gospels, the same, or nearly the same, we may ascribe to the other two. Now Luke, in the beginning of the Acts of the Apostles, speaks of his Gospel in terms which imply that this work had been completed but a little while before; and, in the Acts, he brings down

the history to the end of the second year of Paul's residence at Rome, which was some time after the sixtieth year of our era. According, likewise, to the remarks formerly made respecting the Gospel of Mark,* it must have been written about the year 65, when St. Peter is supposed to have suffered martyrdom at Rome. We may conclude, therefore, that no one of the first three Gospels was written long before or long after the year 60.

Again, the Gospel of Matthew was written in Hebrew; and the present Greek translation of it was extant very early in the second century. But, before this time, the Gospels of Mark and Luke were in existence, and, probably, in extensive circulation; for we cannot account for the remarkable coincidence of language between our Greek translation of Matthew and those Gospels, but by the supposition, that the translator, through his familiarity with them, was led to adopt their expressions when suitable to his purpose.

We have seen, that the Evangelists neither copied one from another, nor from common written documents, such as have been imagined. But, if the supposition of an Original Gospel, receiving constant additions and alterations from successive transcribers, be unfounded, the notion connected with it, of the corruption of our present Gospels by similar additions and alterations, loses all appearance of probability. The former supposition has served to introduce the latter, has been blended with it, and has been regarded as affording the chief evidence of its truth. But, the whole theory concerning an Original Gospel falling to the ground, the notion of any such corruption of our present Gospels as has been supposed is left, unsupported by a plausible argument, to its intrinsic incredibility.

With that theory is likewise connected the supposition, that other more ancient Gospels were in common use among Christians after the apostolic age, and before the late period, when, as it has been pretended, our present Gospels first came into general use. These more ancient gospels, it may be recollected, are imagined to have been, in common with our first three Gospels, derived from the Original Gospel; and all the books of this class are supposed to have agreed with and differed

* See before, p. 220, seq.

from one another in much the same manner as do now the three Gospels which alone remain. As there was nothing, according to the theory, to stop this process of refashioning the Original Gospel, and the consequent multiplication of new gospels more or less varying from one another, till about the close of the second century, when it is admitted that our present Gospels had assumed nearly the form they now possess, and had obtained general reception, it follows, that many different compilations must have been in common use before. The inference, considered in its various other bearings, is incredible; but, if the theory of an Original Gospel be false, no compilations of the sort described could have existed.

A different ground, it is true, may be taken; the notion, that those earlier gospels descended, in common with our own, from an Original Gospel, may be abandoned, and it may still be maintained that there were histories of Christ, such, for instance, as those mentioned in the introduction to Luke's Gospel, not only prior to our present Gospels, but in common use among Christians after the apostolic age, and during a great part of the second century. The supposition of gospels in common use before those which we now possess is thus presented in its simplest form, unembarrassed with any hypothesis respecting the mode of their formation. I shall here view it in reference only to the investigation in which we have been engaged.

The proposition, that our present Gospels, about the end of the second century, took the place of other gospels, which had before been regarded as of authority, cannot be made plausible, except on the theory of an Original Gospel, from which our present Gospels and those other gospels were equally derived. It is only by representing the supposed earlier gospels as works of the same character with those now extant, derived in a similar manner from the same source, so that all were but refashionings of the same original document, or documents, that any plausibility can be given to the supposition, that our present Gospels, on the ground of their being more complete works of the same class, superseded those earlier narratives, which are imagined to have been comparatively imperfect. But, when it is agreed that those more ancient gospels, upon the supposition that any such were in common use during the second century, were not branches, growing with our present Gospels from a common stock, an Original Gospel, but were distinct works, permanent in their form, having each a proper indivi-

duality, then we perceive at once, that books, which, since the apostolic age, had been in common use among Christians as authentic histories of their Master, could not have been displaced and annihilated by a new set of books, introduced about the end of the second century. It would be as easy to believe, that a new growth might spring up under a forest in full vigor, and overshade and choke the trees, which, for more than a century, had been taking root in the soil.

Section VI.

Illustration of the first three Gospels to be derived from the circumstances connected with their Composition.

The view we have taken of the origin of the correspondences among the first three Gospels is important as regards the explanation of those Gospels, particularly that of Luke. It opens a new source of illustration.

The Apostles, familiar as they were with the words of their Master, and continually using them in their discourses, would often quote them disjoined from their original connection. They would blend together those uttered at different times in relation to the same subject; and they would, likewise, naturally apply to new occasions his striking expressions and figurative language, so as sometimes to divert his words, more or less, from their primitive meaning, or, at least, from their primary reference. But these characteristics of their preaching would be likely to produce an effect on works bearing such a relation to it as we suppose the three Gospels to have done.

This effect is less obvious in the Gospel of Matthew than in that of Luke. But in Matthew's Gospel we find, I believe, what may be called a systematic, though quite natural, arrangement, connected with his general regard to chronological order. When some striking occasion presented itself, he seems, in a few instances, to have brought together sayings of our Lord which he viewed as related to each other, but which were uttered at different times.

Thus, in the Sermon on the Mount, Matthew appears to have intended to give a general view of our Lord's teaching, and, taking for his basis what was spoken on that occasion, to have connected with it

other precepts and declarations, which, if I may so speak, had been attracted to and associated with that discourse, through their bearing on its main purpose or on particular subjects introduced into it. In consequence, some of our Lord's words as there given belong, as may seem, to a later period of his ministry; some appear to have been called forth by particular occasions, which afterwards occurred; and precepts which were accommodated to, and limited by, the peculiar and temporary circumstances of those who had devoted themselves to him as his disciples, and which, perhaps, were not addressed to them till their number was increased, and their conceptions of their new duties were more enlarged, are blended with precepts of universal obligation.

But the most important example, perhaps, of this characteristic of his Gospel is to be found in the prophecy, as given by him, of the destruction of Jerusalem, and of the coming of the Son of Man. This appears, from a comparison with Luke, to be a compilation of several discourses,* the bearing and purport of all of which are not to be correctly comprehended without regarding them in connection with the occasions on which Luke reports them to have been delivered. It is to be recollected, that, according to the Gospel of Mark,† Matthew was not present at this discourse.

The effects resulting from the manner in which the Apostles, in their teaching, may be supposed to have used the words of their Master is little, if at all, to be discerned in the Gospel of Mark. His account of the sayings of our Lord is much more limited than that of either Matthew or Luke; and generally of those which he reports, the relation to the circumstances which called them forth, and the relation to each other, appear to have been well settled. The influence of the oral teaching of the Apostles on the construction of his Gospel seems to have extended little further, than to affect directly or mediately its chronological arrangement, as formerly suggested.‡

But the operation of those characteristics, which have been explained, of the oral teaching of the Apostles on the Gospel of Luke, was, I conceive, so great, that this Gospel, in consequence, presents throughout remarkable appearances, to which we will now

* Compare Luke xvii. 22-37, and xxi. 5-36, with Matthew xxiv. 1-42; Luke xii. 35-48 with Matt. xxiv. 42-51; and Luke xix. 11-27 with Matt. xxv. 14-30.

† Ch. xiii. 3.

‡ See before, p. 293, seqq.

attend. The proof of the correctness of the views of it which we are about to take must be drawn principally from a comparison of it with the Gospel of Matthew, though Mark may afford occasional assistance.

I. In the first place, Luke has sometimes, I think, given the words of Jesus in such a connection, that they have a meaning which he did not express, though it be one which he might have expressed. The following is an example.

According to Matthew, Jesus, in forewarning his Apostles of the persecution which they would endure from the enemies of his religion, tells them that in this they would be like him, that their treatment would be similar to his own, and charges them not to be deterred by it from proclaiming the truths which he had taught them. He says (x. 26-28):—

"Fear them not, then. For there is nothing covered which is not to be unveiled, nor any thing secret which is not to be made known. What I tell you in darkness, speak in the light; and what is whispered in your ear, proclaim on the house-tops. And fear not those who may kill the body, but cannot kill the soul; rather fear him who can destroy both soul and body in hell."

The passage goes on with the words, "Are not two sparrows sold for a penny?" and those that follow.

Here, when it is said, "For there is nothing covered which is not to be unveiled;" the meaning is, that there were no secrets in his religion. It was to be fully proclaimed. Nothing was to be kept concealed through fear of men. Thus Mark, after relating the parable of the sower and its explanation to the disciples, represents our Lord as saying,*—"Is the lamp brought to be put under the measure or the bench, and not to be set on its stand? Nothing is hidden but that it may be made known, nor was any thing concealed but that it might be brought to light;" which words are, I think, to be understood thus:—I have not come to keep back the truths of religion, but to reveal them. There is nothing in my discourses intended to hide them, there was nothing intended to conceal them in the parable you have just heard; on the contrary, my modes of speaking are adopted, because they are most likely effectually to impress these truths upon the minds of such hearers as I address.

* Mark iv. 21, 22.

Luke has one passage* similar to the last. But in another place he ascribes these words to Jesus (xii. 1-5) :—

"He said to his disciples, Above all things beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy. For every thing covered shall be laid open, and every thing concealed made known. What ye have spoken in darkness will be heard in light, and what ye have whispered in closets proclaimed upon house-tops.

"But I say to you, my friends, be not afraid of those who kill the body, and after this can do nothing more; but I will instruct you whom to fear; fear him, who, after having killed, hath power to cast into hell."

The passage continues, like that in Matthew, "Are not five sparrows sold for two pennies?" &c.

The first part of this passage, it is evident from the turns of expression, and from its connection with what follows, was intended to be a report of the same words of Jesus which are given by Matthew. There seems no ground for doubt, that their true sense and proper bearing appear in Matthew; but, if this be so, their meaning was misapprehended by Luke. This may have arisen from the circumstance, that these striking words had, previously to the composition of his Gospel, been sometimes separated from their original connection, and applied to the subject of hypocrisy, to which they so well admit of being accommodated.

The following is another example of the same kind.

In Matthew, we find these words in the Sermon on the Mount.†

"Therefore, if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there remember that thy brother has a charge against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go away; first reconcile thy brother to thee, and then come and offer thy gift. Show thy good-will towards him who has this charge against thee,‡ quickly, whilst thou art in the way with him;§ lest he bring thee before the judge, and the judge deliver thee

* Luke viii. 16-18. † Matthew v. 23-26.

‡ The word translated "adversary," in the Common Version, properly means adversary in a suit at law, and the person here intended by the term is the same as "thy brother who has a charge against thee."

§ The conception appears to be of the person who has injured his brother, meeting him in the public way; as he himself, having left the altar, is seeking him. The words, however, may be understood as they are by Luke,—"Whilst

to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. Truly, I say to thee, thou wilt not come out thence till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing."

This is the conclusion of a passage in which our Saviour warns his followers, in the most solemn manner, against being angry without cause, and expressing ill-will to others even by injurious language. The words which immediately precede are these :—" Whoever shall call his brother a reprobate shall be punishable by the fire of hell." It was common among the Jews to represent a sin or an injury under the figure of a debt, and the whole passage, therefore, is closely connected. He who has injured his brother is directed not even to worship God, till he has effected a reconciliation. He is to show his good-will toward him quickly, lest he should be called to suffer the full punishment of his offence.

In Luke, the last part of the passage under consideration appears in quite another connection, and with a different meaning.*

" Hypocrites ! Ye can judge correctly of the appearances of the earth and sky; how is it that ye do not judge correctly of the present time ? Why, even from yourselves, do you not decide on what is right. For, as thou art going with thy adversary to the magistrate, strive on the way that he may let thee go free, lest he drag thee before the judge, and the judge deliver thee over to the officer, and the officer cast thee into prison. I tell thee, that thou wilt not come out thence till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing."

Here our Saviour is represented as reproaching the bigoted Jews for their blindness to the character of the times, by which is meant, to those proofs of a divine interposition that his ministry was continually affording. Even if these proofs were less striking, they might judge from themselves what it was right for them to do; which was to secure the favor of God, and to obtain from him pardon of their sins by reformation. Otherwise, they would be acting as one who should make no effort to propitiate his creditor (as he might do); and who, in consequence, should be condemned to imprisonment till the full amount of his debt was paid; that is, they would remain exposed to the full punishment of their sins. The figurative language here used is illustrated by that of the parable† concerning the servant, to whom his

thou art ON the way with him," that is, to the judge; the literal meaning being, " before thou art called to account for thy sin against him."

* Luke xii. 56-59.

† Matthew xviii. 23-35.

master first forgave a debt, and afterward enforced its payment, on account of the cruelty of that servant toward one of his fellows. "And his master, being angry with him, delivered him to the executioners of the law till he should pay all that he owed."

It is true, that Jesus may have used the same, or similar words and figures in different senses on different occasions. But, as regards this passage in Luke, there is not merely the fact, that the words are found in Matthew with another connection and meaning; but the obscurity of the passage itself, the want of obvious adaptation of one part to another, and the difficulty in discovering the relations of the ideas, serve to show, that expressions have been brought together which were not originally connected.

II. Luke's Gospel presents cases of another kind, in which, though the meaning of the words of our Saviour is not changed essentially, or perhaps not at all, yet, through some leading association in the mind of the Evangelist, they are brought together in a new connection, and applied to a subject to which they did not primarily relate. Thus, after the appointment of the Apostles, Matthew represents their Master as giving them directions appropriate to their peculiar duties. For these, Luke has substituted a series of more general declarations and precepts, taken principally from the Sermon on the Mount. Yet it will be perceived by one who reads his collection attentively, that he had, throughout, the peculiar case of the Apostles in his mind, and regarded the words which he has given as specifically referring to them. In this respect, the discourse has the character which is shown in the first words of it, as compared with those in Matthew. Instead of "Blessed are the poor in spirit," Luke gives, as a direct address to the Apostles, "Blessed are ye poor."

From inattention to this circumstance, there has been supposed to be a want of connection in the discourse, which does not appear when it is viewed under its proper aspect. This may be illustrated in that portion of it which has been regarded as least coherent.

After inculcating virtues which were peculiarly required in the Apostles, love of enemies, irresistance to injury, disregard of their private rights, universal benevolence and kindness, freedom from hasty judgment, and the doing good to others in full measure, the discourse thus proceeds to enforce the necessity of their rightly apprehending and

fully performing their own duty in order to qualify them to be teachers of others. *

"Then he spoke to them in a figure,—Can the blind lead the blind? Will they not both fall into a ditch?† A disciple is not above his teacher, but every one properly prepared will be as his teacher.‡ Why dost thou look at the straw in thy brother's eye, and not consider the beam in thine own eye? Or how canst thou say to thy brother, Brother, let me take out the straw which is in thine eye, whilst thou perceivest not the beam which is in thine own eye? Hypocrite! first put the beam out of thine own eye, and then thou wilt see clearly to take the straw out of thy brother's eye. § No good tree produces bad fruit, nor does a bad tree produce good fruit. For every tree is known by its fruit. Men do not gather figs from thorns, nor grapes from a bramble. ‖ The good man, out of the good storehouse of his mind, produces what is good; and the bad man, out of the bad storehouse of his mind, produces what is bad; for the mouth speaks from the fulness of the mind." ¶

These sayings are all connected together and connected with the rest of the discourse, as all relating to the character required in a moral and religious teacher. That the tone which runs through them is not altogether what we might expect in an address of Jesus to his Apostles, is to be accounted for by the fact, that their original reference was different from what is here assigned them. Their application, likewise, is to be conceived of as hypothetical, not direct; as pointed against faults of character which the Apostles were to avoid, not which they were supposed to have.

With one exception, these sayings, though their reference is changed, retain their original meaning. The exception to which I refer is in the words, "A disciple is not above his teacher; but every one properly prepared will be as his teacher;" the meaning of which, in their present connection, is, that he will be as his teacher in ability to communicate

* Luke vi. 39-45.

† See Matthew xv. 14, whence it appears that this language was used by Jesus concerning the *false teaching* of the Pharisees.

‡ Comp. Matthew x. 24, John xiii. 16, and xv. 20.

§ Comp. Matthew vii. 3-5.

‖ See Matthew vii. 16-18, where this figurative language is connected with the direction to "beware of *false teachers*;" and Matthew xii. 33, where Jesus demands that the test here given should be applied to his own teaching and character.

¶ Comp. Matthew xii. 34, 35.

instruction; but this is not the sense of the corresponding passages of Matthew and John, which have been noted in the margin. There the meaning is, that the Apostles must not expect to be better treated than their Master, and must be as ready to humble themselves as he was.

III. Occasionally St. Luke, after giving the words of our Saviour on some particular occasion, seems to have subjoined other words, uttered by him at a different time, as a sort of commentary on what he then said, or on the incident related, without intending that the latter words should be conjoined with the preceding as forming one discourse, but also without sufficiently discriminating them; so that a degree of confusion and obscurity is produced.

Thus, the parable of the dishonest steward * is concluded with exhortations to the proper use of riches, ending with the declaration, "Ye cannot be servants of God and of Mammon." After which, the narrative of Luke thus proceeds:†—

"And the Pharisees, who were lovers of money, heard all this, and scoffed at him. And he said to them, Ye make yourselves appear righteous in the sight of men, but God knows your hearts. For what is highly exalted among men is an abomination before God.

"The Law and the Prophets were till John. Since then the kingdom of God has been announced, and every one is forcing into it. But heaven and earth may pass away more easily than one tittle fall from the Law.

"Whoever puts away his wife and marries another commits adultery; and he who marries her who was put away commits adultery."

After this follows the parable of Dives and Lazarus.

Here, at first view, no connection appears; but the train of thought admits of an explanation upon the principle just stated.

St. Luke, having recorded the declaration of Jesus, that the Pharisees, who were highly exalted among men, were an abomination before God, his thoughts turned to that part of their character on which they particularly prided themselves, their strict observance of the Law, that is, the ceremonies and rites of the Law; and this led him to insert those words of his Master, which announced that these ceremonies and rites were abolished by Christianity, that they were virtually abrogated when

* Luke xvi. 1-13. † Luke xvi. 14-18.

John proclaimed the kingdom of heaven. But with these words, as uttered by Jesus, was connected an incidental or parenthetical remark, which is thus given by Matthew: *—"From the days of John the Baptist, until now, the kingdom of heaven is forcing its way, *and the violent are seizing upon it.*" I refer to the last words, which are thus expressed by Luke:—"and every one is forcing into it." In these words I suppose Jesus to have referred to those many Jews, who, possessed with false notions of the character of the Messiah, as a deliverer from the tyranny of the Romans, and ready for deeds of violence, were eager to enlist as his followers, striving to force themselves upon him without any of the dispositions which he required in his disciples. The words in question, as given by Luke, are out of place, and appear only in consequence of their original connection with those which precede.

But, having introduced this mention of the abolition of the ritual Law, Luke proceeds to limit the language in which it is expressed, by another declaration of our Lord:—"Heaven and earth may pass away more easily than one tittle fall from the Law." "The Law" is a term used in the New Testament in various senses, and with a very different force and bearing in different connections. In the mouth of a Jew it denoted, in one of its meanings, the whole of religion as understood by him. The Law, or the Law of God, for the terms were equivalent, was his religion. In this sense the expression might be "the Law," simply, or "the Law and the Prophets." By our Saviour, either term was used in an analogous sense, to denote those essential truths of religion and morality, which alone constitute the Old Testament, or any part of it, a book of religious instruction, and entitle it to be called by the name of "the Law." These, the true Law of God, could never be abrogated. Heaven and earth might pass away, but they would remain unchangeable. Using the term in this meaning, he declares, "that to do to others as we would that they should do to us is the Law and the Prophets," that is, a summary of all the social duties taught by them; and, elsewhere, that the whole Law and the Prophets depend on love to God and love to man. This was the Law from which not the smallest letter nor tittle could pass away; and this Law the Pharisees, instead of observing, were continually violating; and were thus an abomination before God.

The passage respecting divorce is introduced with reference to the

* Matthew xi. 12.

sanction which the Pharisees gave to the greatest license, in this respect, on the part of the husband. No instance, perhaps, could have been chosen, which would have presented, in stronger contrast, their avowed morality with the morality taught by Christ.

The parable of Dives and Lazarus has no relation to the Pharisees; for, considering their austerity of manners, Jesus could not have typified them by one who "feasted sumptuously every day." It was suggested to the recollection of the Evangelist by the discourse of our Saviour respecting the use and misuse of wealth, which gave occasion to all on which we have been remarking.

IV. In other instances, St. Luke has given fragments of what was said by our Saviour at a particular time, omitting the connecting and explanatory passages, so that, though the sense of every part might be clear to his own mind, or to the minds of those who were possessed of the information current among the first Christians, yet it is not at the present day discernible from his Gospel alone, and we learn it only by a comparison of his accounts with those of Matthew.

Matthew has preserved the striking and appropriate discourse delivered by Jesus, when, after his curing a demoniac, the Pharisees said, "This man casts out demons only through Beelzebub, the prince of demons." * In immediate connection, the Evangelist proceeds thus: † —"Then some of the teachers of the Law and the Pharisees spoke, saying, Teacher, we wish to see a sign from thee. But he answered them, A wicked and apostate race would have a sign; but no sign will be given it, except the sign of Jonah the Prophet." Jesus then speaks in strong figurative language of the depravity and indocility of the race with whom he had to do, concluding thus: ‡—

"When an unclean spirit has gone out of a man, it passes through desert places in search of rest, and finds it not. Then it says, I will return to my house whence I came out; and, upon returning, it finds the house unoccupied, swept, and put in order. Then it goes and brings with it seven other spirits worse than itself, and they enter in and dwell there, and the last state of that man is worse than the first. So will it be with this evil race."

The evil race spoken of was the great body of the Jews. The nation is compared to an incurable madman, who, after an interval of quiet,

* See Matthew xii. 22-37.
† Matthew xii. 38, seqq.
‡ Matthew xii. 43-45.

relapses into more violent insanity. The figure was suggested by the cure of the demoniac, which gave occasion to the discourse. To understand its application, we must consider that the Jews, since their return from the Babylonish captivity, had not fallen into idolatry, and did not regard themselves as exposed to punishment from God. They thought themselves much better than their countrymen of former times. They said, "If we had lived in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partners with them in slaying the Prophets." * But they hated, and were about to cause the death of, Jesus, the greatest of God's messengers to their nation, and to display their enmity towards his disciples, as their fathers had persecuted and put to death their religious teachers. They were about to manifest the same disobedience to God, which their predecessors had done, in a manner still more outrageous. The interval of seeming amendment in the nation was no real change for the better. The evil spirit had returned, and found his house prepared for his reception, and entered in with seven other spirits worse than himself.

In Luke, the passage remarked upon appears almost in the same words.† But he, after giving a portion of our Saviour's first reply to the Pharisees, immediately subjoins this passage, separated from its proper connection, and without any thing to explain it, for even the last sentence, "So will it be with this evil race," is omitted. It would be impossible from Luke's Gospel alone to determine its reference and ultimate meaning.

V. In one instance, a portion of the Sermon on the Mount, we have found a discourse of Jesus referred by Luke to an occasion on which it was not delivered. Another striking example of the same kind occurs, I believe, in the discourse consisting of a series of denunciations against the Pharisees. This has the appearance of having been one of the last and most solemn acts of the ministry of Jesus. It is represented by Matthew as having been delivered by him at Jerusalem, only two days before his death, in the temple, which he had then entered for the last time, amid a concourse of people, among whom many of the Pharisees were standing as listeners. According to Matthew he concluded it thus:‡—

"Jerusalem! Jerusalem! who killest the teachers and stonest those

* Matthew xxiii. 30.

† Luke xi. 24-26.

‡ See Matthew xxiii. 13-39.

who are sent to thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together as a bird gathers her young under her wings; and ye would not! Behold your house is left you deserted. For I declare to you, Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord.

"And Jesus went out and left the temple."

The words of Jesus, just quoted, are misplaced by Luke, and their meaning obscured in consequence. * It is obvious what a most striking conclusion they form to the discourse, if we regard it as it appears in Matthew.

Till his business on earth drew toward its accomplishment, it would not have been the part of wisdom in Jesus to exasperate to the uttermost the passions of the Pharisees, especially under circumstances which put his life in their power. Nor, till his Apostles and other followers had been formed to their duties, as far as might be, by his personal influence, would it have been prudent to place them in such open and irreconcilable opposition to those, whose sanctity, and whose authority as religious teachers, had been so reverenced by their countrymen. But the deadly hatred of the Pharisees was no longer to be avoided, it was to be encountered; and his followers had received, and were just about to receive, in his resurrection from the dead, evidence which could leave no doubt in their minds of his divine mission. Accordingly, though in Matthew's account of the preaching of Jesus we find previously strong expressions of censure upon the Pharisees, or upon some of their number, yet there is nothing at once so plain and unreserved in its meaning, so direct and general in its application, so terrible in its reproaches and denunciations, and pronounced so formally and solemnly to a public assembly representing the whole Jewish nation. Every thing now conspired to give weight to his words. The utterance of them appears not as an incidental act of his ministry, but as purposed beforehand, as a main object of it; as a testimony delivered in the name of God, not against the character of the Pharisees alone, but against hypocrisy and bigotry, whatever forms they might assume.

All, therefore, according to the narrative of Matthew, is consistent. But Luke represents this discourse against the Pharisees as having been uttered somewhere at a distance from Jerusalem, in a private house,—the house of a Pharisee, who had, at least with a show of hospitality, invited Jesus as a guest.† The occasion, likewise, assigned by Luke,

* See Luke xiii. 34, 35. † Luke xi. 37-52.

does not seem such as the discourse required. The Evangelist says :— "Now while he was teaching, a Pharisee asked him to dine with him. And he entered and placed himself at table. But the Pharisee wondered, when he saw that he did not wash his hands before dinner [conformably to a ceremony of the Jews, to which they attached great importance]. But the Lord said to him, Now you Pharisees make clean the outside of the cup and dish, but ye are full within of rapacity and wickedness." And then follows, with some variation in the report, the same discourse which is given by Matthew as delivered in the temple at Jerusalem. The misplacing of this discourse by Luke may be accounted for by the supposition, that Jesus did, on the occasion to which this Evangelist has referred it, make some comments on the superstitious observances of the Pharisees, and speak of their worthlessness, contrasting it with the importance of justice, mercy, and truth.

VI. One other characteristic of Luke's Gospel remains to be mentioned. He gives different discourses of Jesus with so slight a form of transition from one to another, or perhaps without any, that they all appear, at first view, either to form but one discourse, or to have been delivered consecutively. Some discourses of our Lord, we may suppose, had been blended together in the oral teaching of the Apostles, as relating to the same subject, or as illustrating each other; and some may have been narrated without mention of the occasion on which they were delivered, this occasion not being of particular interest. As Luke was unacquainted with the chronological order and original relation of these discourses, he has collected and placed them miscellaneously, without carefully separating one from another. An example of this is furnished by that portion of his Gospel which begins with the fourteenth verse of the eleventh chapter, and ends with the ninth verse of the thirteenth chapter.

This view of the formation and character of Luke's Gospel may assist us in understanding it, and solve some difficulties with which we might otherwise be embarrassed. But the consideration of the phenomena that have been pointed out leads to a further conclusion. It is difficult to state them without implying the circumstances in which they had their origin. They are accounted for at once, if we suppose that the Apostles, regarding the words of their Master as embodying the truths

of his religion, were accustomed to bring them together in different forms, to apply them on various occasions, and sometimes to change their original sense and adapt striking expressions to a new subject; and that, such being the case, they were collected and arranged by one who, like St. Luke, was not personally conversant with Jesus, but derived his information from the preaching and conversation of his immediate followers. This solution explains all the appearances presented, and I know of no other which will explain them. But this solution rests on the belief, that the words recorded in the first three Gospels were uttered by Jesus.

Section VII.

Concluding Remarks.

It has been my purpose to show, that, when we consider the agreements and differences among the first three Gospels, we find their character to be such as cannot be accounted for by the supposition, that the Evangelists copied either one from another, or all from common written documents. Some common archetype, however, they must have had; the corresponding passages which we find in them, if they did not previously exist in a determinate written form, must have existed orally in forms nearly resembling those which they now present; and this supposition of a model, partly fixed, by a regard to truth and by frequent repetition, and partly fluctuating, through the changes of oral narration, is the only one that accounts satisfactorily for the phenomena presented.

But the narratives which the Evangelists have thus transmitted to us were the original accounts of the Apostles and first preachers of Christianity. This appears from the accordance of the Gospels with each other in the view which they present of the marvellous character and ministry of Christ. Accounts so wonderful, especially if one fancy them unfounded in truth, would have been distorted in many different ways, with or without some dishonest purpose, if abandoned to oral tradition, floating through different countries, and received and transmitted by thousands of new converts. We cannot suppose, that, after the apostolic age, three unconnected writers, founding their narratives upon oral accounts alone, would have harmonized together as do the three Evangelists.* The agreement and difference among these

* See before, p. 111, seqq.

Gospels present a very extraordinary, or rather a unique phenomenon, which requires a peculiar cause for its solution, and this cause is, I think, to be found only in the fact, that they were all based upon unwritten narratives, which had, as yet, lost nothing of their original character; and which, therefore, were the narratives, true or false, of the first preachers of the religion.

In reading those Gospels, therefore, we are in effect listening to the very words of the Apostles; we are, if I may so speak, introduced into their presence, to receive their testimony concerning deeds and words, which they affirm that they saw and heard, and miracles of such a character, that it would be idle to suppose them deceived or mistaken in their reports. The question, then, concerning the truth of Christianity, under this aspect of its evidences, lies within a narrow compass. Realize, as far as you can, the characters and circumstances of the Apostles; place yourselves, in imagination, in their presence, attend to their testimony, and search for every motive and feeling that might lead them, all in common, at the hazard of every worldly good, to persist in asserting the truth of stories, which they knew, and thousands of their hearers knew, and all might know, to be false. Just so far as any probable motive may be assigned for such conduct, just so far, and no further, may the truth of Christianity be rendered doubtful.

Thus, if we have reasoned rightly, an inquiry, which might at first view seem to many a matter of curiosity rather than of great interest, has led us to some important conclusions; among which the most remarkable is, that the very structure of the first three Gospels affords, when they are compared together, proof of the truth of the history they contain, and, consequently, of the miraculous origin of our religion. Such a result from a proper examination, and a correct view, of the very peculiar phenomena of those Gospels was, perhaps, to be expected.

Whether we regard the history of Christ as true or false, there can be no question, that the establishment of Christianity is the most memorable event in the history of our race, that which has produced the greatest and most permanent effects upon the character and condition of men. To produce such results, some most extraordinary cause or causes must have been in operation. But, if the account of those causes which we, as Christians, receive, be not true, the whole early history of Christianity will assume a new aspect. Imagine fraud, en-

thusiasm, mistake, singular combinations of circumstances, all or any thing that can be moulded into a plausible scheme to account for the origin and rapid progress of our religion; still, if it was not, as represented, a religion from God, established by miraculous proof, all its original bearings upon every individual, and every subject with which it had relation, must have been essentially different from what we conceive them to have been. As we suppose the religion true or false, we are obliged to suppose causes in action of the most opposite character, —the power of God in one case, and fraud and delusion, or error, of whatever kind it may be fancied, in the other. But those causes by which Christianity was established, let us suppose them what we will, must have stamped their own character ineffaceably upon whatever was subjected to their operation. If Christianity were false, we should find clear marks of falsehood in the history of Jesus, in the conduct, preaching, and writings of those teachers who immediately succeeded him, in the accounts of its propagation, in the direct and indirect notices of its early converts, in its real or pretended bearings upon the history of the times, and especially in its doctrines and morals. We should distinguish, at first sight, such an attempt to counterfeit the power and wisdom of God. But truth is always consistent, and discovers itself in all its aspects and connections; and hence it is, that we can investigate scarcely any subject relating to the early history of our religion, without some new confirmation of our faith. Though many parts of this history are lost, yet many remain, spread over a wide field, so that we may pursue our inquiries through various and very different paths, all terminating in the same conclusion, the divine Origin of Christianity.

NOTE E.

(See pp. 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, and 144.)

JUSTIN MARTYR'S QUOTATIONS.

Section I.

Justin's Quotations from the Gospels.

The following specimen of Justin's quotations from the Gospels, as I believe, is furnished by Bishop Marsh.* I quote it as given by him, omitting his notes, which are unimportant to our present purpose. He says,—"If the Ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων, from which he professes to quote the discourses of Christ, were no other than our four Gospels, we might justly infer, that the same *verbal* agreement which takes place between Justin's quotations from the Psalms and the text of the Septuagint, would take place also between Justin's quotations from the discourses of Christ and those discourses as recorded by our Evangelists. I will select, therefore, the most remarkable of our Saviour's discourses, the Sermon on the Mount. With the exception of one or two short sentences, all Justin's quotations from the Sermon on the Mount are contained within the compass of six pages in his first Apology. I will lay before the reader, therefore, *all* his quotations from the Sermon on the Mount, contained in these six pages (pp. 21-26, ed. Thirlby). I will place them in the order in which they follow each other in Justin's Apology, and will distinguish them by beginning each of *Justin's* quotations with a *capital.*"

Justin's Quotations from the Sermon on the Mount.	Corresponding Passages in our Gospels.	
Ὅς ἂν ἐμβλέψῃ γυναικὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῆς, ἤδη ἐμοίχευσε τῇ καρδίᾳ παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ.	Πᾶς ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι, αὐτῆς, ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.	Matt. v. 28.
Εἰ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ὁ δεξιὸς σκανδαλίζει σε, ἔκκοψον αὐτόν· συμφέρει γάρ σοι μονόφθαλμον εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἢ μετὰ τῶν δύο πεμφθῆναι εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ.	Εἰ δὲ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ὁ δεξιὸς σκανδαλίζει σε, ἔξελε αὐτὸν, καὶ βάλε ἀπὸ σοῦ· συμφέρει γάρ σοι ἵνα ἀπόληται ἓν τῶν μελῶν σου, καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου βληθῇ εἰς γέενναν.	29.

* Illustration of his Hypothesis. Appendix, pp. 51-55.

Justin's Quotations from the Sermon on the Mount.	Corresponding Passages in our Gospels.	
Ὃς γαμεῖ ἀπολελυμένην ἀφ' ἑτέρου ἀνδρὸς, μοιχᾶται.	Ὃς ἐὰν ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσῃ μοιχᾶται.	Matt. v. 32.
Εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς,	Ἐὰν γὰρ ἀγαπήσητε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς,	46.
τί καινὸν ποιεῖτε; καὶ γὰρ οἱ πόρνοι τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν λέγω, εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν, καὶ εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς.	τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε; οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ τελῶναι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσι; Ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς. καὶ διωκόντων ὑμᾶς.	44.
Παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι δίδοτε, καὶ τὸν βουλόμενον δανείσασθαι, μὴ ἀποστραφῆτε. εἰ γὰρ δανείζετε παρ' ὧν ἐλπίζεσθε λαβεῖν, τί καινὸν, ποιεῖτε; τοῦτο καὶ οἱ τελῶναι ποιοῦσιν. ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ θησαυρίζετε ἑαυτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅπου σὴς καὶ βρῶσις ἀφανίζει, καὶ λῃσταὶ διορύσσουσι· θησαυρίζετε δὲ ἑαυτοῖς ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὅπου οὔτε σὴς οὔτε βρῶσις ἀφανίζει.	Τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου· καὶ τὸν θέλοντα ἀπὸ σου δανείσασθαι, μὴ ἀποστραφῇς. Ἐὰν δανείζητε παρ' ὧν ἐλπίζετε ἀπολαβεῖν, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστί; καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἁμαρτωλοῖς δανείζουσι. Μὴ θησαυρίζετε ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅπου σὴς καὶ βρῶσις ἀφανίξει, καὶ ὅπου κλέπται διορύσσουσι καὶ κλέπτουσι· θησαυρίζετε δὲ ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ ὅπου οὔτε σὴς οὔτε βρῶσις ἀφανίζει, καὶ ὅπου κλέπται οὐ διορύσσουσιν οὐδὲ κλέπτουσιν.	42. Luke vi. 34. Matt. vi. 19. 20.
τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖται ἄνθρωπος, ἂν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσῃ; ἢ τί δώσει αὐτῆς ἀντάλλαγμα; θησαυρίζετε οὖν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὅπου οὔτε σὴς οὔτε βρῶσις ἀφανίζει.	Τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖται ἄνθρωπος, ἐὰν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ζημιωθῇ; ἢ τί δώσει ἄνθρωπος ἀντάλλαγμα τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ;	xvi. 26.
Γίνεσθε δὲ χρηστοὶ καὶ οἰκτίρμονες, ὡς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν χρηστός ἐστι καὶ οἰκτίρμων, καὶ τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ ἁμαρτωλοὺς, καὶ δικαίους, καὶ πονηρούς. μὴ μεριμνᾶτε δὲ τί φάγητε, ἢ τί ἐνδύσησθε· οὐχ	Γίνεσθε οὖν οἰκτίρμονες, καθὼς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν οἰκτίρμων ἐστί.	Luke vi. 36.
	Ὅτι τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθούς.	Matt. v. 45.
	Μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν, τί φάγητε, καὶ τί πίητε· μηδὲ τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν, τί ἐνδύσησθε.	vi. 25.
ὑμεῖς τῶν πετεινῶν καὶ τῶν θηρίων διαφέρετε; καὶ ὁ Θεὸς τρέφει αὐτά.	Ἐμβλέψατε εἰς τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, κ. τ. λ. καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος τρέφει αὐτά· οὐχ ὑμεῖς μᾶλλον διαφέρετε αὐτῶν;	26.
μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε τί	Μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε, λέγοντες, Τί	31.

Justin's Quotations from the Sermon on the Mount.	Corresponding Passages in our Gospels.	
φάγητε, ἢ τί ἐνδύσησθε·	φάγωμεν, ἢ τί πίωμεν, ἢ τί περιβαλώμεθα;	
	Πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη ἐπιζητεῖ.	Matt. vi. 32.
οἶδε γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος ὅτι τούτων χρείαν ἔχετε· ζητεῖτε δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται	Οἶδε γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος, ὅτι χρῄζετε τούτων ἁπάντων. Ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται	33.
ὑμῖν· ὅπου γὰρ ὁ θησαυρός ἐστιν, ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ νοῦς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.	ὑμῖν. Ὅπου γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ θησαυρὸς ὑμῶν, ἐκεῖ καὶ ἡ καρδία ὑμῶν ἔσται.	Luke xii. 34. Matt.
Μὴ ποιῆτε ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.	Προσέχετε τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην ὑμῶν μὴ ποιεῖν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι αὐτοῖς·	vi. 1.
εἰ δὲ μήγε, μισθὸν οὐκ ἔχετε παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.	εἰ δὲ μήγε, μισθὸν οὐκ ἔχετε παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ ὑμῶν τῷ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.	
Τῷ τύπτοντί σου τὴν σιαγόνα, πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· καὶ τὸν αἴροντά σου τὸν χιτῶνα, ἢ τὸ ἱμάτιον, μὴ κωλύσῃς.	Τῷ τύπτοντί σε ἐπὶ τὴν σιαγόνα, πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντός σου τὸ ἱμάτιον, καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα μὴ κωλύσῃς.	Luke vi. 29.
ὃς δ' ἂν ὀργισθῇ, ἔνοχός ἐστιν εἰς τὸ πῦρ.	Πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος - - -	Matt.
παντὶ δὲ ἀγγαρεύοντί σοι μίλιον, ἀκολούθησον δύο.	- - ἔνοχος ἔσται εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός.	v. 22.
	Καὶ ὅστις σε ἀγγαρεύσει μίλιον ἕν, ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο.	41.
λαμψάτω δὲ ὑμῶν τὰ καλὰ ἔργα ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἵνα βλέποντες θαυμάζωσι	Οὕτω λαμψάτω τὸ φῶς ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅπως ἴδωσιν ὑμῶν τὰ καλὰ ἔργα, καὶ δοξάσωσι	16.
τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.	τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.	
Μὴ ὀμόσητε ὅλως. ἔστω δὲ ὑμῶν τὸ ναὶ, ναὶ, καὶ τὸ οὔ, οὔ· τὸ δὲ περισσὸν τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ.	Λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ὀμόσαι ὅλως. Ἔστω δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν, ναὶ ναὶ, οὒ οὔ· τὸ δὲ περισσὸν τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ἐστιν.	34, 37.
Οὐχὶ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι, Κύριε, Κύριε, εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. ὃς γὰρ ἀκούει μου, καὶ ποιεῖ ἃ λέγω, ἀκούει τοῦ ἀποστείλαντός με. πολλοὶ δὲ ἐροῦσί μοι, Κύριε, Κύριε, οὐ τῷ σῷ	Οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι, Κύριε, Κύριε, εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς. Πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ἀκούει μου τοὺς λόγους τούτους, καὶ ποιεῖ αὐτοὺς, ὁμοιώσω αὐτὸν, κ. τ. λ. Πολλοί ἐροῦσί μοι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, Κύριε, Κύριε, οὐ τῷ σῷ	vii. 21. 24. 22.
ὀνόματι ἐφάγομεν καὶ ἐπίομεν,	ὀνόματι προεφητεύσαμεν, καὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι δαιμόνια ἐξεβάλομεν, καὶ τῷ σῷ	
καὶ δυνάμεις ἐποιήσαμεν;	ὀνόματι δυνάμεις πολλὰς ἐποιήσαμεν;	

Justin's Quotations from the Sermon on the Mount.	Corresponding Passages in our Gospels.	Matt.
καὶ τότε ἐρῶ αὐτοῖς, ἀποχωρεῖτε	Καὶ τότε ὁμολογήσω αὐτοῖς, ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἔγνων ὑμᾶς· ἀποχωρεῖτε	vii. 23.
ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἐργάται τῆς ἀνομίας· τότε κλαυθμὸς ἔσται καὶ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων, ὅταν οἱ μὲν δίκαιοι λάμψωσιν ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, οἱ δὲ ἄδικοι πέμπωνται εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ.	ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν. Ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων. Τότε οἱ δίκαιοι ἐκλάμψουσιν, ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν.	xiii. 42, 43.
πολλοὶ γὰρ ἥξουσι ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου, ἔξωθεν μὲν ἐνδεδυμένοι δέρματα προβάτων, ἔσωθεν δὲ ὄντες λύκοι ἅρπαγες· ἐκ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς· πᾶν δὲ δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλόν, ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται.	Προσέχετε δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, οἵτινες ἔρχονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ἐνδύμασι προβάτων, ἔσωθεν δέ εἰσι λύκοι ἅρπαγες. Ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς. Πᾶν δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλὸν, ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται.	vii. 15. 16. 19.

Section II.

Justin's Quotations from the Septuagint.

Similar appearances to what present themselves in Justin's quotations from the Gospels, are found, also, as I have formerly remarked, in many of those which he has taken from the Septuagint.* The cases, as has been observed, to which this remark does not apply, are, for the most part, those in which he quotes passages of such length, that we might presume beforehand that he would not trust his memory, but would transcribe them; or in which he quotes passages as a foundation for his reasoning in controversy. But if, in other instances, his quotations from the Septuagint present the same appearances as do the quotations which, we believe, he borrowed from the Gospels, it follows, that those appearances afford no ground for concluding that Justin did not quote the Gospels.

In giving a view of his quotations from the Septuagint, I shall begin by taking them in the order in which they occur in his first Apology.

I.

Genesis xlix. 10, 11.	Justin, pp. 50, 51.
Οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰούδα, καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ᾧ ἀπόκειται· καὶ αὐτὸς	Οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰούδα, οὐδὲ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὁ [f. ᾧ †] ἀπόκειται· καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται

* See before, p. 134, seqq.

† See Grabe's note, ad locum.

Genesis xlix. 10, 11.	Justin, pp. 50, 51.
προσδοκία ἐθνῶν. Δεσμεύων πρὸς ἄμπελον τὸν πῶλον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῇ ἕλικι τὸν πῶλον τῆς ὄνου αὐτοῦ· πλυνεῖ ἐν οἴνῳ τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν αἵματι σταφυλῆς τὴν περιβολὴν αὐτοῦ.	προσδοκία ἐθνῶν· δεσμεύων πρὸς ἄμπελον τὸν πῶλον αὐτοῦ, πλύνων ἐν αἵματι σταφυλῆς τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ.

This passage Justin professes his intention of quoting literally.*

II.

The next quotation that occurs is professedly taken from Isaiah, to whom he refers by name; but is, in fact, compounded of some words from the prophecy of Balaam, given in Numbers, and some others taken from different parts of Isaiah, so that there is no corresponding passage in the Old Testament. It is as follows (p. 53):—

Ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον ἐξ Ἰακώβ, καὶ ἄνθος ἀναβήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς ῥίζης Ἰεσσαί· καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βραχίονα αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν.

The first four words may be found in Numbers xxiv. 17. The remainder may be picked out of the following verses of Isaiah, xi. 1, 10; li. 5; the words of the original being, however, somewhat altered.

In the Dialogue with Trypho, Numbers xxiv. 17 is quoted again thus:—

Numbers.	Justin, p. 366.
Ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον ἐξ Ἰακὼβ, καὶ ἀναστήσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ Ἰσραήλ.	Ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον ἐξ Ἰακὼβ, καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐξ Ἰσραήλ,

III.

Isaiah vii. 14.	Justin, p. 53.
Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει, καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ.	Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει, καὶ τέξεται υἱόν· καὶ ἐροῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ, μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός.

This verse is twice quoted at length in the Dialogue with Trypho (p. 223 and p. 279), in connection with the verses which precede and follow it. In both places, instead of ἕξει, Justin writes λήψεται, which is the reading of the Vatican MS. In the last clause of the verse, he varies from his own words just given, and corresponds with the Septuagint, except that in one quotation for καλέσεις he writes καλέσεται, and, in the other, agrees with Matthew in writing καλέσουσι.

* Μωσῆς μὲν οὖν εἶπεν αὐτολεξεὶ οὕτως.

IV.

The next quotation is professedly taken from Micah. It agrees verbally with Matthew ii. 6, where the same passage is cited, but differs much from the original. Justin, it is apparent, followed the Evangelist, and did not quote directly from the Old Testament.

Micah v. 2.	Justin, p. 55. Matthew ii. 6.
Καὶ σὺ Βηθλεὲμ οἶκος τοῦ Ἐφραθὰ, ὀλιγοστὸς εἶ τοῦ εἶναι ἐν χιλιάσιν Ἰούδα, ἐκ σοῦ μοι ἐξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος τοῦ εἶναι εἰς ἄρχοντα ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ.	Καὶ σὺ Βηθλεὲμ, γῆ Ἰούδα, οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἶ ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα· ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἐξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου. Matthew adds τὸν Ἰσραήλ.

Justin, p. 305, repeats this quotation, from Matthew's Greek Gospel, rather than from Micah, in the same words which he here uses.

V.

Isaiah ix. 6.	Justin, p. 55.
Παιδίον ἐγεννήθη ἡμῖν, υἱὸς καὶ ἐδόθη ἡμῖν, οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐγεννήθη ἐπὶ τοῦ ὤμου αὐτοῦ.	Παιδίον ἐγεννήθη ἡμῖν καὶ νεανίσκος ἡμῖν ἀπεδόθη, οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων.

VI.

Isaiah lxv. 2. and lviii. 2, united.	Justin, p. 55.
Ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα, τοῖς πορευομένοις ὁδῷ οὐ καλῇ. Αἰτοῦσί με νῦν κρίσιν δικαίαν, καὶ ἐγγίζειν Θεῷ ἐπιθυμοῦσι.	Ἐγὼ ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου ἐπὶ λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα, ἐπὶ τοὺς πορευομένους ἐν ὁδῷ οὐ καλῇ. Αἰτοῦσί με νῦν κρίσιν, καὶ ἐγγίζειν Θεῷ τολμῶσιν.

Justin quotes Isaiah lxv. 2 several times, as he has here given it, or with slight variations.

VII.

Psalm xxi. 17 and 19.	Justin, p. 56.
Ὤρυξαν χεῖράς μου καὶ πόδας μου· καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον.	Αὐτοὶ ὤρυξάν μου πόδας καὶ χεῖρας· καὶ ἔβαλον κλῆρον ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου.

A few lines after, Justin quotes as follows:—

Ὤρυξάν μου χεῖρας καὶ πόδας.

Again, two pages after, he quotes the seventeenth and nineteenth

verses, blending them with another from the third Psalm, in the following manner:—

Psalm xxi. 17, 19; iii. 6.	Justin, p. 58.
Ὤρυξαν χεῖράς μου, κ. τ. λ. vid. sup.	Αὐτοὶ ἔβαλον κλῆρον ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου, καὶ ὤρυξάν μου πόδας καὶ χεῖρας.
Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκοιμήθην καὶ ὕπνωσα· ἐξηγέρθην, ὅτι Κύριος ἀντιλήψεταί μου.	Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκοιμήθην καὶ ὕπνωσα, καὶ ἀνέστην· ὅτι Κύριος ἀντελάβετό μου.

Notwithstanding all this, however, the passage from the twenty-first Psalm, together with the eighteenth verse, here omitted, is twice quoted conformably to the Septuagint in the Dialogue with Trypho (p. 348, p. 362).

VIII.

The next passage he professes to quote from Zephaniah; it is in fact taken from Zechariah.

Zechariah ix. 9.	Justin, pp. 56, 57.
Χαῖρε σφόδρα, θύγατερ Σιών, κήρυσσε, θύγατερ Ἰερουσαλήμ· ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεύς σου ἔρχεταί σοι· δίκαιος καὶ σώσων αὐτὸς, πραὺς καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον.	Χαῖρε σφόδρα, θύγατερ Σιών, κήρυσσε, θύγατερ Ἰερουσαλήμ· ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεύς σου ἔρχεταί σοι, πρᾷος, ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὄνον, καὶ πῶλον, υἱὸν ὑποζυγίου.

The latter part of Justin's quotation, beginning with the word ἰδοὺ, corresponds verbally, except in the omission of καὶ before ἐπιβεβηκὼς, with the citation of Matthew (xxi. 5), and not with the Septuagint; while the preceding part corresponds with the Septuagint and not with Matthew. In the Dialogue with Trypho (p. 245), the passage is quoted again, being there referred to Zechariah, in the following manner:—

Χαῖρε σφόδρα, θύγατερ Σιών· ἀλάλαξον, κήρυσσε, θύγατερ Ἰερουσαλήμ· ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεύς σου ἥξει σοί· δίκαιος καὶ σώζων αὐτὸς, καὶ πραὺς, καὶ πτωχὸς, ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον ὄνου.

IX.

Iasiah i. 3, 4 (p. 57) corresponds with the Septuagint.

X.

Isaiah lxvi. 1.	Justin, p. 58.
Οὕτως λέγει Κύριος· ὁ οὐρανός μοι θρόνος, ἡ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου· ποῖον οἶκον οἰκοδομήσετέ μοι.	Ποῖόν μοι οἶκον οἰκοδομήσετε; λέγει Κύριος· ὁ οὐρανός μοι θρόνος, καὶ ἡ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου.

Justin quotes the passage in the same manner, excepting a very slight variation, in his Dialogue with Trypho (p. 182).

XI.

The words of the next quotation are loosely cited with variations from the passage beginning with the eleventh and ending with the fifteenth verse of the first chapter of Isaiah, no regard being had to the order of the original; and from Isaiah lviii. 6, 7.

Isaiah.	Justin, p. 58.
(i. 14.) Τὰς νουμενίας ὑμῶν, καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς ὑμῶν μισεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου· (v. 13.) καὶ ἡμέραν μεγάλην οὐκ ἀνέχομαι, νηστείαν καὶ ἀργίαν· (v. 12.) οὐδ' ἂν ἔρχησθε ὀφθῆναί μοι (v. 15.) εἰσακούσομαι ὑμῶν· αἱ γὰρ χεῖρες ὑμῶν αἵματος πλήρεις· (v. 13.) Ἐὰν φέρητέ μοι σεμίδαλιν, μάταιον· θυμίαμα, βδέλυγμά μοι ἐστί· (v. 11.) στέαρ ἀρνῶν καὶ αἷμα ταύρων καὶ τράγων οὐ βούλομαι· (v. 12.) τίς γὰρ ἐξεζήτησε ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν; (lviii. 6.) Ἀλλὰ λύε πάντα σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας, διάλυε στραγγαλιὰς βιαίων συναλλαγμάτων· (v. 7.) διάθρυπτε πεινῶντι τὸν ἄρτον σου, καὶ πτωχοὺς ἀστέγους εἴσαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου· ἐὰν ἴδῃς γυμνὸν περίβαλε.	Τὰς νουμενίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ σάββατα μισεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου· καὶ μεγάλην ἡμέραν νηστείας, καὶ ἀργίαν οὐκ ἀνέχομαι· οὐδ' ἂν ἔρχησθε ὀφθῆναί μοι, εἰσακούσομαι ὑμῶν. πλήρεις αἵματος αἱ χεῖρες ὑμῶν· κἂν φέρητε σεμίδαλιν, θυμίαμα, βδέλυγμά μοι ἐστί· στέαρ ἀρνῶν καὶ αἷμα ταύρων οὐ βούλομαι· τίς γὰρ ἐξεζήτησε ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν; Ἀλλὰ διάλυε πάντα σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας, διάσπα στραγγαλιὰς βιαίων συναλλαγμάτων, ἄστεγον καὶ γυμνὸν σκέπε, διάθρυπτε πεινῶντι τὸν ἄρτον σου.

XII.

Isaiah l. 6, 7, 8 (p. 58) corresponds to the Septuagint, with slight variations.

XIII.

Psalm xxi. 8, 9.	Justin, p. 59.
Ἐλάλησαν ἐν χείλεσιν, ἐκίνησαν κεφαλήν. Ἤλπισεν ἐπὶ Κύριον, ῥυσάσθω αὐτόν.	Ἐλάλησαν ἐν χείλεσιν, ἐκίνησαν κεφαλήν, λέγοντες, ῥυσάσθω ἑαυτόν.

This passage is quoted conformably to the Septuagint in the Dialogue with Trypho, p. 355.

I have thus far brought forward all the quotations from the Septuagint to be found in that portion of the Apology which we have gone over. It is unnecessary to pursue this course. But the following examples may serve to illustrate further Justin's failures of memory and disregard of accuracy in quoting the Old Testament.

In his first Apology, p. 76, he professedly quotes from Jeremiah. The passage in fact referred to is in Daniel.

On page 77, he professedly quotes Ezekiel; but the passage is taken partly from that Prophet and partly from Isaiah, the whole being given as one quotation. The allusion to Ezekiel is clear; but the language of Justin is merely colored by the expressions of the Prophet. The quotation from Isaiah is not accurate.

On the same page, he professedly quotes Zechariah; but the passage given is really his own composition, founded upon words and thoughts blended together from Zechariah, Isaiah, and Joel.

On p. 79, we find a passage quoted as from Isaiah, which is in fact taken from Jeremiah. It is given by Justin as follows:—

Jeremiah ix. 26.	Justin, p. 79.
Πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἀπερίτμητα σαρκὶ, καὶ πᾶς οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ ἀπερίτμητος καρδίας αὐτῶν.	Ἰσραὴλ ἀπερίτμητος τὴν καρδίαν, τὰ δὲ ἔθνη τὴν ἀκροβυστίαν.

On page 88, he quotes Moses as saying:—

Καταβήσεται ἀείζωον πῦρ καὶ καταφάγεται μέχρι τῆς ἀβύσσου κάτω.

The words referred to are these, Deuteronomy xxxii. 22:—

Ὅτι πῦρ ἐκκέκαυται ἐκ τοῦ θυμοῦ μου, καυθήσεται ἕως ᾅδου κάτω· καταφάγεται γῆν καὶ τὰ γεννήματα αὐτῆς. φλέξει θεμέλια ὀρέων.

On p. 166, he ascribes to Hosea what was said by Zechariah, and what he himself elsewhere (p. 77) quotes as from Zechariah; and on p. 236, he quotes as from Zechariah a passage of Malachi.

I have remarked, that Justin has twice "quoted the Pentateuch, once expressly, and once by implication, for facts not to be found in it." *

* See before, p. 134.

One of the passages I referred to is the following. Justin says, pp. 65, 66 :—

"The Holy Spirit of prophecy has taught us by Moses, saying, that when man was first formed, God thus addressed him, Behold, good and evil are before thee, choose the good."

Justin seems here to have had a confused recollection of what Moses is represented as having said to the Israelites, Deuteronomy xxx. 15, 19.

The other passage (p. 92) is one in which he speaks of Moses as "engaged in feeding the flocks of his maternal uncle in Arabia." It has been conjectured, that Justin, in thus writing, confounded the history of Jacob with that of Moses.

The only quotation from Plato, of any considerable length, in which Justin appears to have intended to follow the words of his original, is a famous passage of the Timæus.* But he here differs from Plato as he does elsewhere from the Septuagint and from the Gospels.

Timæus, p. 28.	Justin, p. 124.
Τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς εὑρεῖν τε ἔργον, καὶ εὑρόντα εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν.	Τὸν δὲ πατέρα καὶ δημιουργὸν πάντων οὔθ' εὑρεῖν ῥᾴδιον, οὔθ' εὑρόντα εἰς πάντας εἰπεῖν ἀσφαλές.

These words Justin ascribes to Socrates, though they are put by Plato into the mouth of Timæus; and represents them as an exhortation to men to become acquainted, through the exercise of their reason, with the Unknown God.†

Many similar passages might be added to those I have adduced; but those are sufficient to show, that the want of verbal agreement in Justin's quotations from the Gospels affords no ground for doubting that he quoted the Gospels; that he was not, as has been affirmed, "extremely accurate as to the words of his quotations;" that no hypothesis can be more baseless than one built on a contrary supposition.‡

* See before, p. 134.

† Πρὸς Θεοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἀγνώστου αὐτοῖς διὰ λόγου ζητήσεως ἐπίγνωσιν προὐτρέπετο, εἰπών, κ. τ. λ.

‡ See before, p. 134, seqq.

SECTION III.

Passages in which Justin has repeated the same Quotation from the Gospels with Variations.

I have observed, that the fact, that Justin was not solicitous to quote what he calls the "Memoirs by the Apostles," that is, as I believe, our present Gospels, with verbal accuracy, is proved beyond controversy by the circumstance, that he repeats the same quotation with variations.* The following are examples.

I.

Matth. iii. 11, 12.	Justin, p. 236.	Justin, p. 332.	John i. 20, 23.
	—ὅστις ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν καθεζόμενος	—πρὸς οὓς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβόα·	
Ἐγὼ μὲν βαπτίζω ὑμᾶς ἐν ὕδατι, εἰς μετάνοιαν· ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἰσχυρότερός μου ἐστὶν, οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς τὰ ὑποδήματα βαστάσαι.	ἐβόα· Ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι, εἰς μετάνοιαν· ἥξει δὲ ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου, οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς τὰ ὑποδήματα βαστάσαι.	Οὐκ εἰμὶ ὁ Χριστὸς, ἀλλὰ φωνὴ βοῶντος· ἥξει γὰρ ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου, οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς τὰ ὑποδήματα βαστάσαι.	Οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ ὁ Χριστὸς, ἐγὼ φωνὴ βοῶντος.

II.

Matth. iv. 10. Luke iv. 8.	Justin, p. 361.	Justin, p. 407.
Matthew. Τότε λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου, Σατανᾶ· γέγραπται γάρ· Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις, καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις.	—ἀποκρίνασθαι αὐτῷ τὸν Χριστὸν, Ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου, Σατανᾶ· Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις, καὶ αὐτῷ μονῷ λατρεύσεις.	—ἀποκρίνεται γὰρ αὐτῷ, Γέγραπται, Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις, καὶ αὐτῷ μονῷ λατρεύσεις.
Luke. Ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτῷ εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησους· Γέγραπται, Προσκυνήσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου, καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις.		

* See before, p. 136.

III.

Matth. vii. 22, 23.	Justin, pp. 25, 26.	Justin, p. 302.
Πολλοὶ ἐροῦσί μοι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, Κύριε, κύριε, οὐ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι προεφητεύσαμεν, καὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι δαιμόνια ἐξεβάλομεν, καὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι δυνάμεις πολλὰς ἐποιήσαμεν; Καὶ τότε ὁμολογήσω αὐτοῖς, ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἔγνων ὑμᾶς· Ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν.	Πολλοὶ δὲ ἐροῦσί μοι, Κύρει, κύριε, οὐ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι ἐφάγομεν καὶ ἐπίομεν, καὶ δυνάμεις ἐποιήσαμεν; Καὶ τότε ἐρῶ αὐτοῖς, Ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐργάται τῆς ἀνομίας.	Πολλοὶ ἐροῦσί μοι τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ· Κύριε, κύριε, οὐ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι ἐφάγομεν καὶ ἐπίομεν, καὶ προεφητεύσαμεν, καὶ δαιμόνια ἐξεβάλομεν; Καὶ ἐρῶ αὐτοῖς, Ἀναχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.

IV.

In immediate connection with the words just given from Justin, in the middle column, are the following, as part of the same quotation:— "Then shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when the righteous shine forth as the sun, and the unrighteous are sent into eternal fire. For many shall come in my name, clothed in the skins of sheep without, but being ravenous wolves within." The last words are from Matthew vii. 15. That they did not, in the text of the Gospel used by Justin, stand in the connection in which he has here given them (p. 26), may appear from his quoting them elsewhere (p. 208), not in a declarative, but in a preceptive form, as they appear in Matthew, thus:—

Matth. vii. 15.	Justin, p. 26.	Justin, p. 208.
Προσέχετε δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, οἵτινες ἔρχονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ἐνδύμασι προβάτων, ἔσωθεν δέ εἰσι λύκοι ἅρπαγες.	Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἥξουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου, ἔξωθεν μὲν ἐνδεδυμένοι δέρματα προβάτων, ἔσωθεν δὲ ὄντες λύκοι ἅρπαγες.	Προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, οἵτινες ἐλεύσονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἔξωθεν ἐνδεδυμένοι δέρματα προβάτων, ἔσωθεν δέ εἰσι λύκοι ἅρπαγες.

V.

Matth. xix. 16, 17.	Justin, p. 25.	Justin, p. 354.
Καὶ ἰδοὺ, εἷς προσελθὼν εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ. . . . . Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ,	Καὶ προσελθόντος τινὸς καὶ εἰπόντος, Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθὲ, ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων,	Λέγοντος αὐτῷ τινὸς, Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθὲ, ἀπεκρίνατο, Τί με λέγεις, ἀγαθόν;

Τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς, εἰ μὴ εἷς, ὁ Θεὸς.*	Οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα.	εἷς ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸς, ὁ Πατήρ μου, ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

VI.

Matth. xxiii. 23, 24, 27.	Justin, p. 172.	Justin, p. 376.
Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι, ὑποκριταί· ὅτι ἀποδεκατοῦτε τὸ ἡδύοσμον, καὶ τὸ ἄνηθον, καὶ τὸ κύμινον· [Luke xi. 42. τὸ ἡδύοσμον, καὶ τὸ πήγανον, καὶ πᾶν λάχανον] καὶ ἀφήκατε τὰ βαρύτερα τοῦ νόμου, τὴν κρίσιν, καὶ τὸν ἔλεον, καὶ τὴν πίστιν. [Luke. καὶ παρέρχεσθε τὴν κρίσιν, καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ Θεοῦ.] Ὁδηγοὶ τυφλοὶ, οἱ διϋλίζοντες τὸν κώνωπα, τὴν δὲ κάμηλον καταπίνοντες. v. 27. — ὅτι παρομοιάζετε τάφοις κεκονιαμένοις, οἵτινες ἔξωθεν μὲν φαίνονται ὡραῖοι, ἔσωθεν δὲ γέμουσιν ὀστέων νεκρῶν, καὶ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας.	Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι, ὑποκριταί· ὅτι ἀποδεκατοῦτε τὸ ἡδύοσμον καὶ τὸ πήγανον, τὴν δὲ ἀγάπην τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τὴν κρίσιν οὐ κατανοεῖτε· τάφοι κεκονιαμένοι, ἔξωθεν φαινόμενοι ὡραῖοι, ἔσωθεν δὲ γέμοντες ὀστέων νεκρῶν.	Τάφοι κεκονιαμένοι, ἔξωθεν φαινόμενοι ὡραῖοι, καὶ ἔσωθεν γέμοντες ὀστέων νεκρῶν, τὸ ἡδύοσμον ἀποδεκατοῦντες, τὴν δὲ κάμηλον καταπίνοντες, τυφλοὶ ὁδηγοί.

VII.

Matth. xxiv. 11, 24.	Justin, p. 208.	Justin, p. 316.
Καὶ πολλοὶ ψευδοπροφῆται ἐγερθήσονται, καὶ πλανήσουσι πολλούς. (v. 24.) Ἐγερθήσονται γὰρ ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται, καὶ δώσουσι σημεῖα μεγάλα καὶ τέρατα, ὥστε πλανῆσαι, εἰ δυνατὸν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς. Luke xxi. 8. Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου, λέγοντες, ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι.	Εἶπε γὰρ . . . . Ἀναστήσονται πολλοὶ ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευδαπόστολοι καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πιστῶν πλανήσουσιν.	Εἶπε γὰρ . . . . ὅτι ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ ψευδόχριστοι πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ παρελεύσονται, καὶ πολλοὺς πλανήσουσιν.

* I think it most probable, that this is the true reading in Matthew. If it be not, it is the reading both of Mark and Luke.

VIII.

Matth. xxvi. 39.	Justin, p. 351.	Justin, p. 361.
Πάτερ μου, εἰ δυνατόν ἐστι, παρελθέτω ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο.	Πάτερ, εἰ δυνατόν ἐστι, παρελθέτω τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.	Παρελθέτω, εἰ δυνατὸν, τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο.

IX.

Matth. x. 40.	Justin, p. 25.	Justin, p. 93.
Ὁ δεχόμενος ὑμᾶς, ἐμὲ δέχεται· καὶ ὁ ἐμὲ δεχόμενος, δέχεται τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με.	Ὃς γὰρ ἀκούει μου, καὶ ποιεῖ ἃ λέγω, ἀκούει τοῦ ἀποστείλαντός με.	Ὁ ἐμοῦ ἀκούων, ἀκούει τοῦ ἀποστείλαντός με.
Luke x. 16. Ὁ ἀκούων ὑμῶν, ἐμοῦ ἀκούει· καὶ ὁ ἀθετῶν ὑμᾶς, ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ· ὁ δὲ ἐμὲ ἀθετῶν, ἀθετεῖ τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με.		

X.

Luke vi. 35, 36.	Justin, pp. 23, 24.	Justin, p. 347.
— ὅτι αὐτὸς [Θεὸς] χρηστός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀχαρίστους καὶ πονηρούς. Γίνεσθε οἰκτίρμονες, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ὑμῶν οἰκτίρμων ἐστί.	Γίνεσθε δὲ χρηστοὶ καὶ οἰκτίρμονες, ὡς καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ὑμῶν χρηστός ἐστι καὶ οἰκτίρμων, καὶ τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ ἁμαρτωλοὺς καὶ δικαίους καὶ πονηρούς.	Γίνεσθε χρηστοὶ καὶ οἰκτίρμονες, ὡς καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος· καὶ γὰρ τὸν παντοκράτορα Θεὸν χρηστὸν καὶ οἰκτίρμονα ὁρῶμεν, τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλοντα ἐπὶ ἀχαρίστους καὶ δικαίους, καὶ βρέχοντα ἐπὶ ὁσίους καὶ πονηρούς.
Matthew v. 45. ὅτι τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς, καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους.		

SECTION IV.

On the Coincidences between Justin and the Greek Gospel of Matthew, in Deviations from the Text of the Septuagint.

It has been remarked, that Justin's use of the Gospels, and more particularly of the Greek Gospel of Matthew, is shown by the fact, that his citations from the Old Testament are, some of them, to all appearance, borrowed from that Gospel; being conformed to the words there

found, when these words differ from those both of the Septuagint and the Hebrew.* Of this, two examples have been already given in Section II., numbers IV. and VIII. The following are of the same kind.

Jeremiah xxxviii. 15. ap. LXX. xxxi. 15. Hebr.	Justin, p. 307.
Φωνὴ ἐν Ῥαμᾷ ἠκούσθη,	Φωνὴ ἐν Ῥαμᾷ ἠκούσθη,
θρήνου, καὶ κλαυθμοῦ, καὶ ὀδυρμοῦ·	κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὀδυρμὸς πολύς·
Ῥαχὴλ ἀποκλαιομένης ἐπὶ τῶν υἱῶν	Ῥαχὴλ κλαίουσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς,
αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἤθελε παρακληθῆναι	καὶ οὐκ ἤθελε παρακληθῆναι,
ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῆς, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσίν.	ὅτι οὐκ εἰσί.

Justin agrees verbally with the quotation, Matthew ii. 18, except that there, in the Received Text, θρῆνος καὶ is inserted before κλαυθμὸς; but those words Griesbach marks as probably spurious.

The passage, Isaiah xlii. 1-4, is twice quoted by Justin; it is also quoted by Matthew, xii. 18-21, with much variation from the Septuagint. The passage, as first quoted by Justin (p. 403), is given with variations belonging to Matthew, as follows:—

Septuagint.	Matthew and Justin.
— ἔδωκα τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ' αὐτόν·	— θήσω τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ' αὐτόν.
— οὐ κεκράξεται, οὐδὲ ἀνήσει, οὐδὲ ἀκουσθήσεται ἔξω ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ.	— οὐκ ἐρίσει, οὔτε κράξει [Matthew has οὐδὲ κραυγάσει], οὔτε ἀκούσεταί τις [Matthew, οὐδὲ ἀκούσει τις] ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ.
Κάλαμον συντεθλάσμενον οὐ συντρίψει, καὶ λίνον καπνιζόμενον οὐ σβέσει.	Κάλαμον συντετριμμένον οὐ κατεάξει, καὶ λίνον τυφόμενον οὐ μὴ [Matthew has not μὴ] σβέσει.

What renders this coincidence with Matthew more remarkable is, that it disappears when Justin repeats the quotation (p. 425), except in the single instance of the word τυφόμενον. When Justin made his first citation, we may suppose that he quoted from memory, and that the words of the Evangelist recurred to him more readily than those of the Septuagint.

* See p. 144, note.

Section V.

On the Quotations of the Fathers generally.

When it is argued, that Justin Martyr did not quote our present Gospels, because his quotations do not, for the most part, coincide verbally with their contents, it is implied, that there is a specific difference in this respect between him and other fathers whose use of the Gospels is undisputed. It is true, that, as a general characteristic, the later fathers do not quote so loosely as Justin. The circumstances under which he wrote, that have been formerly pointed out,* must have led him to regard a strict adherence to the very words of any particular Evangelist as wholly unimportant. In proportion, likewise, as, after his time, the Gospels, in common with the other books of the New Testament, became objects of more critical study, as controversies were to be settled and doctrines were to be defined by their authority, so would the custom become more prevalent of adhering to the exact expressions of some one of them in quoting. But there is no such difference of character between Justin's quotations and those of his successors as to afford any ground for supposing that they made use of different Gospels. An incorrect assumption of greater accuracy than exists in the quotations of the fathers has, in this and other cases, given occasion to errors and false hypotheses. It has affected the criticism of the text of the New Testament; and, what is of more importance, on the loose citations of other earlier writers beside Justin Martyr, have been founded hypotheses respecting other gospels, beside his *Memorabilia*, imagined to be different from, though nearly allied to, our present Gospels; such, for instance, as certain Gospels used by the Apostolic Fathers, so called, for the former existence of which Eichhorn contends.†

On the subject of the quotations of the fathers, I have already made some remarks; and have stated the fact, that verbal accuracy is to be confidently expected only within narrow limits, and under conditions that do not apply to the quotations of Justin.‡ But I have thought it might be worth while to add the testimony of the three last principal editors of the New Testament, Griesbach, Matthæi, and Scholz, and of Eichhorn himself.

* See before, p. 136, seqq.

† Einleitung in d. N. T. i. 113, seqq.

‡ See p. 132, seqq.

Griesbach says of Origen, on whose quotations he so much relies, that "in the same work, at the distance of a few pages, he sometimes quotes the same passage from the New Testament in a different manner;" and that the same uncertainty in his quotations appears, as might be expected, in his different works, when compared together.* "I freely admit," he says, "that Origen did not always examine his manuscript when he was about to quote a passage from Scripture, but sometimes trusted to his memory; whence, throughout his works, the construction of passages is altered; one synonymous word is substituted for another; articles, particles and prepositions are omitted, with other similar changes, that for the most part do not affect the sense. I admit further, that it was not always his purpose to adduce the very words and syllables of a passage, but that, according to the object he had in view, he sometimes altered, omitted, or added, or even expressed the sense only of the sacred writer, in his own style and words."†

I have already quoted a passage ‡ in which Griesbach says of another of his principal Alexandrine authorities, Clement, that "he not unfrequently cites from memory, and gives rather the sense than the words of the sacred writers." Matthæi, after adducing one example in which Clement has blended together incorrectly the words of two different verses,§ says, that there are a thousand other similar passages in his writings; and adds (alluding to Griesbach), "When I say a *thousand*, I speak not from conjecture, as others do who make him a chief authority of the Alexandrine recension, but from well-grounded knowledge." ‖

Matthæi observes, that those quotations of the Greek fathers are most to be regarded, which are to be found in their commentaries; but affirms, that, when these are appended to the original Text, the readings found in the commentary not unfrequently differ from those of the Text. He says, that Origen often arbitrarily alters passages to conform them to his fanciful expositions; and that Chrysostom repeats the same passage several times with different variations in a single Homily.

* Dissertatio de Codd. Origenianis, published in his Opuscula Academica, i. 244, seqq.

† Commentarius Criticus, Partic. ii. p. xxvi.

‡ See before, p. 133.

§ The passage noticed on pp. 65, 66.

‖ Ueber die sogenannten Recensionen, u. s. f. "Upon the Recensions, so called, of the Text of the N. T." p. 8.

Of quotations found in other writings than professed commentaries, he says, that, as far as he is acquainted with them, "the Greek fathers, generally and particularly, used little or no care to quote passages of the New Testament as they found them in their manuscripts; hence it is common for them to be inconsistent with themselves; and they also quote the same passage falsely in different places, either through accident or design." *

Scholz says:—"The fathers were accustomed to quote the Scriptures from memory, without inspecting their manuscripts, so that we can very seldom be certain whether their citations faithfully represent the text of those manuscripts, or whether the various readings found in their works owed their origin to lapses of memory and indolence. Sometimes they compress a long passage, sometimes paraphrase a short one, and sometimes give the meaning rather than the precise words of a passage, as it occurred to their recollection, in a form adapted to the occasion; so that they quote the same passage differently, in different places." †

In treating of the criticism of the text of the New Testament, Eichhorn says:—"Concerning the value and trustworthiness of the quotations of the fathers, many doubts arise. Did not *the Church* ‡ de-

* Ibid. p. 45.

† Prolegomena in N. T. p. cxxxv. See also what follows.

‡ *The Church* is a personified abstract idea, which Eichhorn, as we have had occasion to remark before (see p. 25, seqq.), and other German critics, have regarded as acting very injudiciously in early times. Eichhorn refers (Einleitung in d. N. T. Vol. v. p. 129, note), in illustration of the question above quoted, to the fourth volume of his Introduction. But nothing can be more futile than the scanty list of passages which he there gives (pp. 210, 211, 216) as having been designedly altered by the Church. The first is the omission of the words, "before they came together" in Matthew i. 18. If the authority of the church operated in this case, it availed no further than to cause the passage to be struck out of two modern manuscripts. This, however, may be thought not a fair specimen of his instances. But the omission of the words "neither the Son," in in Mark xiii. 32 (which words many have considered as hard to reconcile with the doctrine of the Trinity), presents an unexceptionable case. Here the Church succeeded so far, that they are wanting in one Greek manuscript, in two Latin manuscripts, and there is a question whether they were not wanting in some manuscripts seen by Ambrose; but they are found in all other known manuscripts and versions, and are quoted by many fathers, including Athanasius. How little the fraudulent practice which Eichhorn supposes was countenanced by those of highest authority among Christians, even in a degenerate age, may appear

signedly alter many passages to conform them to orthodoxy, and have not the fathers adopted such alterations? Do not the fathers often quote the same passage differently in different parts of their works? In their citations, do they not regard the sense more than the words? Hence, do they not often paraphrase the passage which it is their purpose to adduce? Do they not often trust to their memory in quoting? And did not this habit often lead them to blend together different passages and combine them into one? Certainly, these are facts which cannot be denied; but, still, the quotations of the fathers are not all without use in the criticism of the text." *

After what has been already said, I should hardly have thought it worth while to adduce this evidence in order further to show, that Justin's want of verbal accuracy in quoting affords no proof that he did not quote our present Gospels. But I have been induced to do so, because the facts stated are, as I have remarked, important in their bearing upon other subjects connected with our general inquiry.

from a passage of Augustine, cited by Eichhorn himself in connection with his notice of one of those corruptions which he attributes to the Church. The name "Jeremiah," Matthew xxvii. 9, was omitted by some few copyists, because the passage there found is not taken from Jeremiah; upon which Augustine remarks;—"There was no motive [that is, copyists could have had no motive] for adding the name, so as to produce a false reference; but there was a cause for its omission in some manuscripts, that is, a daring want of judgment, in order to get rid of the difficulty, that this testimony is not found in Jeremiah."

* Einleitung in d. N. T. Vol. v. pp. 127, 128.

NOTE F.

(See page 154.)

ON THE WRITINGS ASCRIBED TO APOSTOLICAL FATHERS.

SECTION I.

Purpose of this Note.

The purpose of this note is to give some account of the "Writings of the Apostolical Fathers," so called, and, on the one hand, to explain why I have not referred to them as affording proof of the genuineness of the Gospels, and on the other hand, to show that they do not, as has been pretended,* furnish any evidence that other gospels were in common use before those which we now possess.

They are called Writings of Apostolical Fathers because they are, or have been supposed to be, writings of individuals who were conversant with some one or more of the Apostles. I limit the term in the following remarks to those about the genuineness, or very early date, of which any controversy may be supposed to remain; and in treating this subject, I am compelled, as will be perceived, to differ from Lardner, a writer never to be spoken of without respect, and consequently from Paley, who follows him, in my views of the works themselves, and of their importance as regards our general subject.

Though these writings have been considered as among the earliest memorials of Christianity, yet it is remarkable how unsettled are the questions concerning their genuineness, antiquity, and value, and how little they have been attended to by many of those who seemed particularly called upon to investigate the subject. The few remarks that Lardner has made concerning the authority of those which he quotes in proof of the credibility of the Gospels are far from being satisfactory; and the same may be said, on the other hand, of the observations of Priestley in his "History of Early Opinions," by which he would invalidate their authority. The German theologian Semler, dog-

* Eichhorn's Einleitung in d. N. T. i. 113-140. See before, pp. 61, 62.

matizing, as usual, without assigning reasons for his opinion, pronounces them all spurious, or of doubtful credit.* Little is to be learnt from the late ecclesiastical histories of Neander and Gieseler. Olshausen, a modern German writer of reputation, in his work on the genuineness of the Gospels, declines discussing the genuineness of the writings in question, as having no bearing on his main inquiry, but affirms them all, except "The Second Epistle of Clement," so called, to be among the oldest Christian writings extant.† And some other modern German theologians quote them almost indiscriminately, as if they were works of established authority.

But, notwithstanding the apparently unsettled state of opinion respecting these writings, I think we may arrive at some definite and satisfactory conclusions concerning them. ‡

Section II.

The Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians. Another Epistle ascribed to Clement.

The first work we shall notice is the Epistle of Clement of Rome, written in the name of the church at Rome, where he was bishop or presiding officer, or perhaps only a distinguished presbyter, to the church at Corinth, upon occasion of some dissensions which there prevailed. Only a single manuscript copy of the work is extant, at the end of the Alexandrine manuscript of the Scriptures. This copy is considerably mutilated; in some passages the text is manifestly corrupt, and other passages have been suspected of being interpolations.

The evidence for the genuineness of this Epistle, that is, for the fact that the Epistle, as now extant, was in the main written by Clement, seems to be full and satisfactory.

Irenæus, appealing to the doctrines of Clement, as opposed to those

* Commentarii Historici de Antiquo Christianorum Statu, Tom. i. pp. 39, 40.

† Die Echtheit der vier canonischen Evangelien erwiesen, p. 411.

‡ A translation of the writings in question was published by Archbishop Wake in 1693, under the title of "The Genuine Epistles of the Apostolical Fathers," &c., with a preliminary discourse. It has since been several times reprinted; one edition having appeared at New York, in 1810. But the work is poorly executed. The preliminary discourse is deficient in good sense, and the translations in correctness and in appropriateness of language.

of the Gnostics, says that Clement had seen the Apostles and had been connected with them, and that when he became bishop, their preaching was still sounding in men's ears, and many were living who had been taught by them; and then proceeds to allege the Epistle in question, describing it as written by the church of Rome to that of Corinth, and giving a general account of its character. *

Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, about the year 170, wrote seven Epistles, now lost, to different churches. One of these was addressed to the church at Rome, in which he said to them, as he is quoted by Eusebius:—"To-day is the Lord's day, in which we have publicly read your epistle; the reading of which, as well as of that formerly written from you by Clement, will be to us a constant source of instruction." †

The Epistle is abundantly quoted as the work of Clement of Rome by Clement of Alexandria. It is mentioned several times, with high praise, by Eusebius, who says, that its genuineness was unquestioned; and that it had been formerly, and was even in his day, publicly read in many churches.‡ Photius, in the ninth century, gives a particular criticism upon it; and before his time, there is no doubt that our present manuscript copy was written.§

Though the sentiments of this Epistle are commendable, it appears to be the work of an author of very moderate ability. There are no expressions of personal feeling to give it life and interest. It has the air of a homily addressed to the Corinthians on general topics, such as humility, order, peace, freedom from envy and angry passions, repentance, and Christian charity, which were adapted to the state of things existing among them. Its antiquity and the other circumstances attending its composition, were probably the principal causes of the notoriety and favor it obtained.

There seems no reason for questioning, that it was written by a person named Clement, who held a place in the church at Rome, which afterwards caused him to be entitled bishop, and who had been conversant with Apostles. He was supposed by some of the ancients to be the Clement mentioned by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Philippians

* Cont. Hæres. Lib. iii. cap. 3. § 3. p. 176.

† Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. iv. c. 23.

‡ Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii. c. 16. et c. 38.

§ For a full account of the authorities in proof of the genuineness of this Epistle, see the Veterum Testimonia in the edition of the Patres Apostolici by Cotelier and Le Clerc, Tom. i. pp. 128-132.

(iv. 3) as a fellow-laborer with him; but this is doubtful. Of the bearing of this work on the evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels, I shall speak hereafter.

There was another work, of which a fragment only is extant, that in the fourth century was by some ascribed to Clement, and called his "Second Epistle to the Corinthians." At the present day, it is generally agreed that it was not written by him. It is first mentioned by Eusebius, who does not regard it as Clement's work, and says that it was quoted by no ancient writer.* It was evidently a work of very little note or credit, and there is no ground for supposing it to have been in existence much before the time when Eusebius mentions it. Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, about the year 170, speaks of *the* Epistle of Clement to the Christians of that city in such a manner as distinctly proves that he knew nothing of any second epistle.

Eichhorn, in endeavouring to prove that the Apostolical Fathers had gospels different from the four Gospels, makes much use of this fragment; though he does not maintain that the work, of which it was a part, was written by Clement, nor adduce any argument to show that it was written before the end of the second century.† It contains various quotations of words of Christ, most of which there is no difficulty in supposing to be cited, strictly or loosely, from our present Gospels. But, in one place, Peter is represented as interposing a question not mentioned in the Gospels; and, in another, a passage is quoted from an apocryphal book, called the Gospel of the Egyptians, of which I have elsewhere given an account.‡

The quotation of an apocryphal book by an early Christian writer, or his introducing a relation of something concerning the history of Christ not found in the Gospels, has no bearing to prove that the Gospels were not regarded by his contemporaries and by himself with the highest respect as *the* authentic histories of Jesus. We find such passages after the period when there is no question that the Gospels were so esteemed. But, in respect to the particular case before us, it is an obvious oversight to attempt to prove that the Apostolical Fathers used not our present Gospels, but apocryphal gospels, from a work which it is not pretended was written by an Apostolical Father, and for the existence of which we have no proof before the fourth century.

* Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii. c. 38.

† Einleitung in d. N. T. i. 122-131.

‡ In Part III. ch. xi. of this work.

SECTION III.

The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians.

What may next be mentioned is an Epistle by Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, to the church at Philippi. A portion of it only is extant in Greek. The remainder is furnished by an old Latin translation. Polycarp died a martyr in the second century. Respecting the precise time of his death, the data are, I think, too uncertain to afford ground for any of the different computations which have been made. Irenæus twice mentions having known him, when he himself was a young man. He speaks of his distinct recollection of his person, his manners, his way of life, and of his public discourses, in which Polycarp, he says, reported the words of John and of other hearers of the Lord with whom he had been conversant, and their accounts respecting the miracles and doctrine of the Lord, all corresponding to the Scriptures. Irenæus relates that he suffered martyrdom when a very old man. To his Epistle to the Philippians he refers, in connection with his reference to that of Clement of Rome, as giving proof of the opposition between the doctrine of Polycarp and that of the heretics.*

This Epistle is mentioned by other ancient writers, nor is there any reason to doubt its genuineness; except that a passage appears to have been interpolated near its conclusion, inconsistent with what is found in the preceding part of the Epistle, and fraudulently intended to give countenance to certain Epistles forged in the name of Ignatius, to be mentioned hereafter.†

* Cont. Hæres. Lib. iii. c. 3. § 4. Epist. ad Florinum, ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. v. c. 20.

† The passage referred to is what is now numbered as the thirteenth section. In this, epistles of Ignatius are mentioned as sent by Polycarp to the Philippians, annexed to his own.

In the body of the Epistle (§ 9), Polycarp says to the Philippians:—"I exhort you all to obey the doctrine of righteousness, and to exercise all patience, such as ye saw before your eyes not only in those blessed men Ignatius, and Zosimus, and Rufus, but also in others who were of your number, and in Paul himself and the rest of the Apostles; being persuaded that they all ran not in vain, but in faith and righteousness, and that they are with the Lord, with whom they were fellow-sufferers, in the place that was due to them."

When this passage was written, it is evident that Ignatius was dead, nor is his death spoken of as if it were a recent event. But the author of the interpolation, overlooking this passage, and referring to the story, that Ignatius, after leaving

The Epistle of Polycarp is a general exhortation to Christian duties. It does not appear to have had any specific purpose, but to have been occasioned by a request of the Philippians that he would write to them, —a request which not improbably had its origin merely in their respect for his age and eminence. It is founded on the writings of the New Testament, and pervaded with conceptions, turns of expression, and quotations, borrowed from them. I shall speak of it again in connection with the Epistle of Clement.

Section IV.

The Shepherd of Hermas.

There is a work called "The Shepherd of Hermas," which has been regarded by some as the production of a fanatic, who imagined that he saw visions, or of an impostor, pretending to have seen them. But I discern in the book no marks of fanaticism or imposture. It seems to me to belong to the same class of writings as "The Tablet of Cebes," "The Vision concerning Piers Ploughman," or, to take a more familiar example, Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," or, more generally, to the class of works of fiction, especially those written in the first person. The author, like Bunyan, describes himself as having witnessed a succession of visions, and also as having received various communications, which he was commanded to publish. His representing an angel as having appeared to him under the likeness of a shepherd gives its title to the work. Its allegories are not suited to the taste of modern times, but were adapted to engage the attention and affect the minds of readers in the age when it was composed.

By some, both in ancient and modern times, the writer has been supposed to be the Hermas mentioned by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, ch. xvi. v. 14.

This book, for a considerable period, obtained great favor and authority with many in ancient times. It was especially acceptable to the fathers of the Alexandrine school. It is once quoted by Irenæus.

Smyrna, passed through Philippi on his way to suffer martyrdom at Rome, makes Polycarp request the Philippians to communicate to him any certain information they might have concerning Ignatius himself and those who were with him:— "Et de ipso Ignatio, et de his qui cum eo sunt, quod certius agnoveritis significate."

Clement of Alexandria often quotes it as a book of high authority. Origen, in one place, says, that he thinks it was the work of the Hermas mentioned by St. Paul, that it seems to him a very useful writing, and that he thinks it divinely inspired. Elsewhere he quotes it often, but sometimes with such qualifying expressions as "if that writing is to be received." Once he mentions it as "despised by some," and once in citing it, he speaks of "venturing to use a certain book, which circulates in the churches, but is not acknowledged as divine by all."

Tertullian once notices the book slightingly before he became a Montanist; afterwards he speaks of it with reprobation, because it contradicted the severe doctrine, which he then held, that there was no repentance for Christians guilty of unchastity. Yet, even in expressing his own ill opinion of it, he implies that it had been regarded by some as having a claim to canonical authority. I would give up the point, he says, "if that writing, the Shepherd, deserved to be inserted in the divine *Document*" (that is, among the books of Scripture); "if it had not been judged by every council, even of *your* churches" (those of the catholic Christians, in contradistinction to the Montanists), "as apocryphal and false."

Eusebius speaks of it as reported to be the work of the Hermas mentioned by St. Paul. He reckons it among those writings which were "not genuine" Scripture (ἐν τοῖς νόθοις); but says that it was "judged by some a very necessary book, especially for those who are in want of elementary instruction, so that at the present day, as we know, it is even publicly read in churches, and I have observed that some very ancient writers make use of it."*

There is, perhaps, nothing in the contents of the book inconsistent with the belief of its having been written in the first century; but there is evidence to the contrary which can hardly be set aside. It is mentioned in the fragment of an account of canonical and uncanonical books, or "Canon," as it may be called, found by Muratori in a manuscript of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and published by him in 1740, in his "Antiquitates Italicæ Medii Ævi."† The author of this Canon says of it, that "it was written very lately, in our own

* For the references to the passages above quoted see the Veterum Testimonia in the Patres Apostolici, or in Fabricii Cod. Apocr. Nov. Test. P. iii. pp. 738-763.

† Vol. iii. pp. 853, 854.

times, by Hermas, while his brother Pius presided over the church at Rome as bishop; and so it ought to be read, but not publicly in the church to the people;" adding, that it could not be ranked either among the writings of the Prophets or of the Apostles.* The date that has been assigned for the death of Pius is the year 142. The same account of the authorship of the book is given in a Latin poem, "Against Marcion," of uncertain age and by an unknown writer, published in editions of the works of Tertullian. In this, Hermas, the brother of Pius, is called the Angelical Shepherd, who spoke the words committed to him.† This opinion respecting the author of the Shepherd seems to have prevailed, after the fifth century, among the writers of the Latin church. The book gradually fell into neglect; the original was lost, and only a few manuscripts of a Latin translation of it are now remaining.

The writer of the Canon published by Muratori speaks of himself as having lived in the time of Pius and his brother, Hermas, and affirms that the Shepherd had been composed by the latter not long before he himself wrote. There is here no ground for the suspicion of falsehood; and there seems to be but little probability of mistake. The writer could hardly have committed so gross an error concerning a work, which, according to his own account, was famous and highly esteemed by many, as to represent it to have been written by a well-known individual of his own time, when in fact it had been in existence from the first century. We may therefore conclude that it was not written till towards the middle of the second century, and we must ascribe the acceptance which it so early found partly to its stories and allegorical representations; for even rude attempts in a new form of art are likely to be favorably received; partly to an opinion, suggested by the general aspect of the book, that it was divinely inspired; for in the first ages of Christianity men's notions of inspiration were very vague and comprehensive; and partly to the mistake of supposing that it was written by one who lived in the times of the Apostles.

The work is of some interest from its illustrating in a certain degree the opinions, feelings and taste of the early Christians. But, as regards the direct historical evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels, it is of

* It should be observed that the volume of Lardner's "Credibility" which contains the article on Hermas appeared before Muratori published this Canon.

† Lib. iii ad finem. Tertulliani Opp. p. 635, ed. Priorii.

no importance. No book is cited in it by name. There are no evident quotations from the Gospels, and nothing that one can suppose to be borrowed from any apocryphal history of Christ.

Section V.

The Epistle of Barnabas, so called.

There is an Epistle extant which has been ascribed to Barnabas, the companion of St. Paul. It is several times expressly quoted as his work by Clement of Alexandria, who entitles the author "Barnabas the Apostle." It is once mentioned by Origen in his work against Celsus under the title of the "Catholic [that is, General] Epistle of Barnabas," as containing a passage on which Celsus might have founded a charge made by him, that the Apostles were "infamous men, the vilest tax-gatherers and sailors," which charge is, as we shall see, abundantly countenanced by the passage referred to. Origen uses no expression of respect in quoting it, and his calling it the Epistle of Barnabas only shows that it passed under that title, and does not prove that he himself believed Barnabas to be its author. According to the Latin translations of two of his works by Rufinus, Origen has quoted this Epistle once elsewhere, and perhaps alluded to it in another passage, but still, I think, without any particular expression of respect. The Epistle is afterwards mentioned by Eusebius, who classes it among books not canonical, or not genuine Scripture (ἐν τοῖς νόθοις). After him, Jerome ascribes it to Barnabas, reckoning it among the Apocryphal Scriptures, that is, as is here meant by him, among writings entitled to respect, though not canonical. The book appears to be mentioned by no other writer during the first four centuries,* but in the Apostolical Constitutions there is a passage evidently taken from it. † Though so early recommended to notice by the quotations of Clement of Alexandria as the work of Barnabas the Apostle, it seems never to have obtained much favor among the great body of Christians. Clement himself, in one place, rejects a fiction found in the work,‡ and in another, appears unsatisfied with one of its expositions.§ He has adduced it, there-

* See the Veterum Testimonia in the Patres Apostolici.

† See Dallæus, De Pseudepigraphis Apostolicis, Lib. ii. c. 4. pp. 265, 266.

‡ Pædagog. ii. 10. p. 188; comp. Epist. Barnab. c. 10.

§ Stromat. ii. 15. p. 389.

fore, not as a work of conclusive authority, nor has he quoted it for historical facts, but only for expressions of sentiment and opinion. Among the great multitude of volumes which that very learned father has cited in his writings, there must have been many in regard to the authorship of which he trusted to their titles or to very slight information; nor is it doubted that in doing so he has been led into many mistakes. In assigning the present work to Barnabas, he may have been deceived by a title prefixed to some copy of it through the misjudgment of a former proprietor, or to several copies, fraudulently, to promote their sale; or it may have been written by some individual of the name of Barnabas, and Clement may have hastily concluded that the author thus named was the companion of St. Paul. In ancient times the genuineness of books *as a matter of literary interest* was much less carefully investigated than at the present day; and Clement was not distinguished from other ancient writers by particular attention to the subject. His authority, probably, was the principal means of procuring for the so-called "Epistle of Barnabas" the notice it afterwards obtained.

But the author of this work does not write in the name of Barnabas, nor in any way identify himself with him; and there are decisive reasons for believing Barnabas not to have been its author.* Its most distinguishing characteristic is its being thoroughly imbued with the allegorizing spirit of the Alexandrine school, which may in some degree have recommended it to Clement. Though of a very far inferior character, it has in this respect, and in its general design, some resemblance to the Epistle to the Hebrews. The style of reasoning and interpretation is so foreign from all our present intellectual habits, that it may have been spoken of too contemptuously; but it is unquestionably the work of a writer deficient in good sense. The allegorical interpretations of the Old Testament are very forced and mean; yet after one of the poorest, in which he teaches that the number of the persons circumcised by Abraham, which he falsely supposes to have been three hundred and eighteen, was typical of the cross and of the first two Greek letters of the name of Jesus, he subjoins:—"He who has implanted in us the gift of teaching knows that no one has learnt

* I should have considered the point so well settled that Barnabas was not its author, as to render it unnecessary to enter into any argument on the subject, had I not observed that several of the modern German scholars are disposed to attribute it to him.

from me a more genuine doctrine. But I know that ye are worthy of it." * We can hardly suppose this to have been written by Barnabas, one high in honor among the first preachers of Christianity, the associate of St. Paul in his labors. Christianity was not established in the Gentile world by the preaching of such "genuine doctrines." The allegories in the Epistle, founded upon the Mosaic laws respecting clean and unclean food, are mixed up with strange fables respecting animals. The whole tone of it is low and trivial, expressing no warmth of feeling and not adapted to excite any. And, to mention one other particular passage, that referred to by Origen in his work against Celsus, the writer, laboring after emphatic language, says that Jesus chose for his Apostles men "who were sinners beyond all sin," † a declaration too foolishly extravagant for us to believe that it proceeded from a contemporary and friend of the Apostles.

But it may be said, that we know too little of Barnabas personally to determine, from the inferior character of the Epistle, that it might not have been written by him. I answer, that we know much concerning him. From the few notices of him that St. Luke has given, we learn that he was greatly trusted by the Apostles, and had great influence with them; that he was one of the earliest of those preachers by whom Christianity was spread through the world; that, with the exception of St. Paul, he apparently did more than any other in the accomplishment of this work; that in the commencement of St. Paul's ministry he was, as it were, his patron; that he was open, manly, and strong-minded, taking St. Paul and bringing him to the Apostles, when the other disciples were all afraid of him, and with him maintaining the claims of the Gentiles against the prejudices of his countrymen; and that he was full of zeal and disinterestedness in the cause in which he was engaged, giving up his property to supply those who were in need, and devoting all his powers to its promotion. Considering what he was and what he effected, there can be no doubt that he comprehended and felt the essential truths of our religion, and was well able to impress them on the hearts and minds of others. When, with such a conception of him distinctly before us, we come to the reading of his pretended Epistle, it requires but little knowledge of human nature to enable us to determine that it is not his work. It may seem only to imply the ability to

* Cap. 9.

† . . . . . *ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν ἀνομωτέρους.* c. 5. Wake, in his translation, softens this down to "very great sinners."

distinguish between the miserable composition of some Alexandrine sophist, and the words of one full of the spirit and power of Christianity. No incongruity would be more gross than to ascribe such an Epistle to St. Paul, and it seems scarcely less incongruous to ascribe it to Barnabas.

To proceed to another argument; Barnabas was a Jew by birth, but the author of the Epistle uniformly blends himself with the Gentile Christians as one of their number. It may be possible to evade the force of particular passages to this effect, one after another; but the whole impression from the manner in which he speaks is, that he was a Gentile by birth, and, I think, a Gentile convert. In addition to this, he does not write in the Hebraistic style of the New Testament. He discovers no Jewish sentiments or affections, no interest in or sympathy with the Jewish nation. He writes of them with the harsh feelings of a Gentile. No Jew could or ought so to have alienated himself from his countrymen. Between the state of mind expressed by the writer, and the strong emotion with which St. Paul speaks of his "great grief and continual pain of heart for his brethren, his natural kinsmen," the contrast is much too striking to allow of our attributing the Epistle to Barnabas; especially when we remember that this work is imagined to have been written by him immediately after those overwhelming calamities which the Jews brought upon themselves through their unbelief.

As appears from the work itself (c. 16), it was written after the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70). It cannot be proved, that in the common course of nature Barnabas might not have survived that event; but there is no doubt that, if he did so, he must have been far advanced in life. That one, who had composed nothing before, should then set about the composition of a writing at all resembling that ascribed to Barnabas is very improbable; and still more improbable is it, that in a work addressed by Barnabas, under such circumstances, to his fellow-Christians, there should be no recurrence to his past history, no expression of those deeply affecting recollections that must have pressed upon his mind, no reference to his old age, nor any trace of emotion in contemplating the ruin which God had inflicted upon his nation, the hard but successful struggles of the true faith, and his own solitary state, as one of the few survivors of that noble company of Apostles and martyrs who had been bound together by such strong sympathies in suffering and joy. Nothing of all this appears in the Epistle. It

might have been written as a task by a dull pupil in a rhetorician's school.

Barnabas, as I have said, may have survived the destruction of Jerusalem, though it is for various reasons unlikely that he did so; but were it the fact, it would not prove that he might have been the author of the Epistle; for the Epistle was not written, as has been affirmed, *shortly* after that event. This appears from the passage in which the event is referred to; from which it also appears, that the writer was neither Barnabas nor any other Jew. The Jewish temple having been destroyed, the author represents the Gentiles as building up in its stead a spiritual temple to God. Its destruction, he says, was predicted in the Old Testament, and "It has taken place. For, they [the Jews] going to war, it was destroyed by their enemies; and now will the very ministers of their enemies rebuild it."* *The Jews going to war, it was destroyed by their enemies*;—the writer would not thus have spoken of the destruction of Jerusalem, had it been a recent event, fresh in the minds of men; nor would he, if a Jew, have classed himself, as he immediately does, with *the very ministers of the enemies* of his nation, converted Gentiles, who were to form the new temple;—"We," he says, "whose hearts, before we believed in God, were full of idolatry, a habitation of demons, but in whom God now dwells."

We conclude, then, that the Epistle was not written by Barnabas; and, this being the case, we have no ground for assigning to it an earlier date than is required by the circumstance of its being quoted by Clement of Alexandria; that is, we may suppose it to have been written about the middle of the second century. We may derive an argument for its not being in existence before this period from the fact, that it is not noticed by Irenæus or Tertullian; the latter of whom speaks of the Epistle to the Hebrews as written by Barnabas, calling it the Epistle of Barnabas, without intimating a knowledge of any other ascribed to him.† A considerable part of the Epistle is controversial, directed against the unbelieving Jews, and having, therefore, the same character as Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho, which was written about the period just mentioned. But from the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70)

* Γίνεται. Διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολεμεῖν αὐτοὺς καθῃρέθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκθρῶν· νῦν καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ τῶν ἐκθρῶν ὑπηρέται ἀνοικοδομήσουσιν αὐτόν. The rendering of Wake is incorrect;—"And so it came to pass; for, through their wars, *it is now destroyed* by their enemies," &c. The passage is in c. 16.

† De Pudicitiâ, c. 20.

till the reign of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161), the state of the Jews, including the Jewish Christians, was such, that there is little likelihood that religious controversies existed between them and the Gentile Christians, or that the notice of the latter was at all directed to their pretensions. The wrath of the Roman empire had fallen upon and blasted the nation, and continued to pursue it, as if to exterminate the race. They became objects of general aversion and hatred. As an odious and degraded class, they were everywhere exposed to insult and cruelty. The capitation tax, the didrachm, which they had been accustomed to pay for the service of the temple, was required by Titus, in bitter mockery, for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Under Domitian the impositions upon them were made more severe by the brutality with which they were enforced,—*Præter cæteros Judaicus fiscus acerbissimè actus est*, says Suetonius,—and it became a common source of revenue to charge them with crimes for the sake of seizing upon their property.* They were forbidden by the edicts of the Roman emperors to circumcise their children. They existed throughout the empire only as suppressed rebels, often breaking out into open war, and perpetrating and suffering terrible massacres; till at last the vengeance of Adrian was directed upon Judea, and renewed, as far as there were objects for it, the desolation of Titus. Under such circumstances, we can hardly suppose the Jews to have been so interested in the religious controversy with the Gentile Christians, as to give occasion for such works as the Dialogue with Trypho, or the Epistle of Barnabas. But under the first Antoninus, the successor of Adrian, the prohibition to circumcise their children was revoked, the wiser policy of conciliation was adopted toward them, they enjoyed a respite from their sufferings; and, as during his reign the Dialogue with Trypho was written, so also, we may suppose, was the Epistle of Barnabas.

To those who believe that the doctrine of the preëxistence of Christ did not begin to prevail among the Orthodox Christians till toward the middle of the second century, its introduction into this Epistle may afford another argument for the date assigned to it.

But whatever weight there may be in these considerations, it is to be remembered, that, if the Epistle be not the work of Barnabas, we have no ground whatever for supposing it written earlier than the period

* To such an extent was this practice carried, that when it was abolished by Nerva, a coin was struck, bearing the inscription, "Fisci Judaici Calumnia sublata S. C."

mentioned; and there is no ground therefore for classing it with writings of Apostolical Fathers. Its internal character is an objection not merely to its having been written by Barnabas, but by any one who had been conversant with Apostles.

The Epistle is now extant partly in the Greek original, and partly in an old Latin translation, the beginning of the former and the end of the latter being lost. The texts of both, in the few manuscripts in which they are extant, are very corrupt, and in the forms in which they have been printed, both lie under the suspicion of having been interpolated and altered by transcribers.

The Epistle contains three passages corresponding to passages in the Gospels.* There is one, which Eichhorn thinks was taken from an apocryphal history of Christ.† It is as follows:—"So they, he says, who would see me and attain my kingdom must receive me through affliction and suffering."‡ But there seems no difficulty in regarding this as intended to express the sense of various passages in the Gospels. There is another professed quotation, that would seem to have been more to Eichhorn's purpose, which, however, may admit of a similar explanation. "As the Son of God says, Let us resist all iniquity and hate it."§ But, as regards both these passages, it is further to be observed, that the writer of the Epistle is extremely inaccurate in his professed quotations; so as often to cite the Old Testament for words and facts not to be found in it.‖ But, as these citations do not prove that he had any other copy of the Old Testament than that in common use, so neither do the two passages in question prove that he had any other copy of the New Testament. We cannot infer from them that he quoted any apocryphal writing; and could this be shown, it would be a fact of no moment.

Section VI.

Epistles ascribed to Ignatius.

We come now to seven Epistles ascribed to Ignatius, said to be a bishop of Antioch, who suffered martyrdom soon after the close of the

* See Lardner's article on Barnabas; Credibility, Part II. Ch. i.

† Einleitung in d. N. T. i. 117, 118.

‡ Cap. 7. § Cap. 4.

‖ See the examples adduced by Jones in his "New and Full Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the N. T." Vol. ii. Ch. xli.

first century. These Epistles exist in two forms, in one of which they are shorter than in the other. The shorter Epistles have either been abridged from the longer, with some changes of expression, or the longer have been interpolated, and altered in other respects from the shorter. It is the genuineness of the shorter Epistles that is generally contended for by those who suppose one or the other set to have been written by Ignatius. The story connected with them is, that he was sent by the personal order of the Emperor Trajan from Antioch, by a land journey, to Rome, there to be exposed to wild beasts, and that on his way he wrote six of these Epistles to different churches, and one to Polycarp.

But the seven shorter Epistles, the genuineness of which is contended for, come to us in bad company; not only that of their seven larger brethren, but that of eight other Epistles ascribed to Ignatius, which the learned have almost unanimously pronounced to be spurious. In ancient times, supposititious works, and those of little credit, were not uncommonly refashioned, or gave occasion to others of a similar character; while the undoubted genuineness of a work prevented such changes and imitations. The name of Ignatius, it is apparent, was a favorite among the fabricators of spurious writings; probably because hardly any thing was known of him with certainty.

There is, as it seems to me, no reasonable doubt that the seven shorter Epistles ascribed to Ignatius are, equally with all the rest, fabrications of a date long subsequent to his time. Some, who have felt the strong objections to which their genuineness is exposed, have adopted the notion of their being interpolated, or have suggested that this might be the case. But I believe that, if there be any thing in them which Ignatius said or wrote, it is this which may be considered as interpolated, having been introduced by the author of the Epistles to give credit to his forgery. The design of this forgery appears to have been to strengthen the domination of priests, and especially of bishops; to confirm the doctrine of the Deity of Christ, according to the writer's conceptions of it; and to bear down the Gnostics and other heretics, by the pretended authority of an ancient martyr.

The genuineness of these Epistles has been so ably discussed, and they have, in my opinion, been so satisfactorily proved to be spurious, that I shall only make a few general remarks upon the subject.*

* The subject is to be *studied* in the work of Daillé, "De Scriptis quæ sub Dionysii Areopagitæ et Ignatii Antiocheni Nominibus circumferuntur," in which,

The state of the external testimony is such as to create a strong presumption of their being fabricated. The passage near the conclusion of the Epistle of Polycarp in its Latin translation, in which epistles of Ignatius are mentioned, is of such a character as at once to raise a suspicion of its having been interpolated to countenance the fraud.* No epistles of Ignatius are mentioned by Irenæus, Clement, or Tertullian; and the absence of such mention, under the circumstances of the case, is all but decisive proof, that the seven Epistles did not exist in their day. Especially the fact, that Irenæus does insist at length upon the evidence against the doctrines of the Gnostics to be derived from the Epistles of Clement and Polycarp, without mentioning those of Ignatius, which the occasion must have forced upon his notice, and which might have seemed written expressly for his purpose, shows, either that these Epistles were not then extant, or that he did not recognize them as genuine; and of these inferences there is abundant reason to adopt the first.† Origen is adduced as twice quoting them;

however, it is to be observed, that he blends together objections both to the shorter and longer Epistles, it not being settled in his time which set was to be defended;—in Bishop Pearson's reply to Daillé, entitled "Vindiciæ Ignatianæ"—and in Larroque's answer to Pearson (which I have not been able to procure), "Observationes in Ignatianas Pearsonii Vindicias, necnon in Beverigii Annotationes." Most readers, however, will find enough to satisfy them in Chauncy's "Complete View of Episcopacy, as exhibited from the Fathers of the Christian Church, until the close of the Second Century," the work of an able and learned theologian of America, which, though the controversy that produced it is obsolete, still retains value, from the information it affords concerning Christian antiquity. It is striking, and to a scholar almost affecting, that such a work should have been produced among us at a time (but little more than fifty years since) when, as the author mentions, there was a want of types and skill to print the Greek citations in Greek letters.

* See before, p. 339.

† There is a passage in Irenæus (Lib. v. c. 28. § 4), which Eusebius (H. E. iii. 36) adduces in proof of his having quoted these Epistles, and which has been insisted upon by their defenders in modern times. It is as follows:—"As one among us said, when condemned to the wild beasts on account of his testimony for God, I am the grain of Christ [or God], and am ground by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found pure bread of God." These words are found in the Epistle to the Romans ascribed to Ignatius (§ 4). By Jerome they are said to have been spoken at the time of his martyrdom. Supposing that Irenæus referred to Ignatius, which has been assumed on the one hand, and admitted on the other, without, I think, any sufficient proof, there is no good reason for believing that he quoted the words of the Epistle. The turn of expression, on the contrary, would

but one of the quotations appealed to is in a work* of which we have only a translation by Rufinus, who so altered and interpolated the writings of Origen which he rendered, that his translations, where a reasonable doubt may arise of the genuineness of a particular passage, are not considered as of authority to prove what Origen wrote; and the other is found in a work of which the genuineness is doubtful, a homily,† which those who contend for its genuineness suppose to have been written down by some hearer clandestinely, without Origen's consent;‡ and in the copies of which, thus particularly exposed to interpolation from not having any claim to be regarded as the precise words of the author, it may have been subsequently introduced.

But there is, after all, nothing improbable in the supposition, that some spurious epistle or epistles ascribed to Ignatius existed in the time of Origen. This may, indeed, seem more likely, than that the seven contested Epistles should have been produced in a body at a later period, without any thing previously existing to suggest or to countenance their fabrication. They, as we have seen, gave occasion to fifteen spurious epistles, which followed them; and we may reasonably conjecture, that they would not, some centuries after the death of Ignatius, have been put forward as written by him, if no one had before heard of an epistle ascribed to Ignatius.

The first writer by whom the seven Epistles are expressly mentioned is Eusebius;§ and by him in such a way as, I think, to leave it doubtful whether he believed their genuineness. He begins his account of the martyrdom of Ignatius, with the words, "*It is reported,*"‖ and speaks of him as "*still* very famous with many;" while, except the honorable mention of him as an example of patience in the genuine portion of the Epistle of Polycarp, his *name* does not occur in the extant writings of any preceding father, unless the passages ascribed to Origen are genuine. Eusebius was not of a character to expose himself to odium by directly expressing his disbelief of a fabrication intended to strengthen the power of the priesthood.

lead us to suppose that he referred to spoken words; and the forger of these Epistles, for the purpose of giving them credit, would naturally have recourse to the artifice of introducing into them words that had been ascribed to Ignatius, or which might be fancied to be his.

* Prolog. in Cantic. Canticorum. Opp. iii. 30.

† Homil. in Lucam vi. Opp. iii. 938.

‡ See Delarue's Preface to the third volume of Origen's Works, pp. iv. v.

§ Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii. c. 36. ‖ Λόγος δ' ἔχει.

The story connected with the pretended composition of these Epistles is very improbable; but on this it is unnecessary to dwell. Their internal character affords, in my opinion, the clearest evidence of forgery. A series of anachronisms runs through them. They suppose a priesthood with distinctions and powers which did not exist till long after the time of Ignatius. The implicit submission of the laity to the clergy in all spiritual matters is a constant topic, and is inculcated in language foolish and extravagant even to profaneness. A single example may suffice:—"Do ye all follow your Bishop, as Jesus Christ did the Father, and the Presbytery, as the Apostles; and reverence the Deacons as the command of God."* To give such an exhortation to Christians at the present day would not be more absurd than it would have been to address it to those of the primitive age, when Ignatius is supposed to have lived. There is a similar anachronism in the language concerning the theological doctrine of the Deity of Christ. And the repeated references to the opinions of the Docetæ imply, that those opinions had acquired a notoriety and importance about the end of the first century, which is inconsistent with the statements of the early fathers by whom they were controverted, who refer their rise to the times of Adrian and Antoninus Pius.

I doubt whether any book, in its general tone of sentiment and language, ever betrayed itself as a forgery more clearly than do these pretended Epistles of Ignatius. The style, which is barbarous and obscure, is, at the same time, ridiculously inflated and artificial.† There

* Epist. ad Smyrnæos, § 8.

† The following account of the star said to have appeared to the Magi may serve as an illustration of the character of the forger of these Epistles, and of his style of writing, though of this it is not the most remarkable specimen that might be given.

"A star shone forth in the heavens, brighter than all the stars, and its light was unspeakable; and its novelty produced perturbation. And the other stars, together with the sun and moon, became a choir to that star; and that surpassed them all in its light, and there was trouble among men whence came this strange novelty. Hence all magic was dissolved, and every bond of wickedness done away, ignorance was overthrown, the old kingdom was destroyed, God being manifested in a human form for the newness of eternal life, and that which was perfected by God received dominion. Hence, all things were in commotion, because the destruction of death was preparing."—Epist. ad Ephesios, § 19.

"*Mirum hæc potuisse videri temerè scripta, absurda, indicta,*"—"It is wonderful that this account can have appeared unfounded, absurd, unheard of." So says Cotelier in his note on the passage, referring to expressions of Daillé. Bishop

is no natural expression of feeling. The sentiments ascribed to Ignatius present a rude caricature of a very weak, half-crazy, vain-glorious bigot. Take the conception on which the Epistles are founded, that of an aged Christian bishop, who had been a companion of Apostles, torn from his people by an order of the Emperor in person, sent a long journey under a guard of brutal soldiers, to suffer, at its termination, a barbarous death, continually receiving, on his way, all the consolations and supports which the sympathy of his fellow-Christians could afford him, and addressing to them, under such circumstances, his last exhortations,—take this conception, and one can hardly imagine that the outline could be filled up, as it is by the forger of these Epistles, so that not a feeling of interest or respect should be excited for the supposed sufferer. No writer of a fustian tragedy ever more grossly misrepresented human nature, or put more extravagant rant into the mouth of his principal personage. *

I conceive these Epistles in their shorter form to have been fabricated about the beginning of the fourth century, the date assigned to them by Daillé; but it is doubtful whether, in this form, their text remains the same as it originally appeared. They are of no value as regards the direct historical evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels. But Eichhorn, though he admits that they were not the work of Ignatius, says, that "they are an ancient though much interpolated book,"† and insists on one passage, as proving that the Apostolical Fathers quoted apocryphal Gospels.‡

Section VII.

Concluding remarks respecting the evidence for or against the Genuineness of the Gospels to be derived from the writings before mentioned.

From the writings ascribed to Apostolical Fathers, if our preceding conclusions be correct, we have to except the Second Epistle of Clement, so called, of the existence of which we have no proof before the fourth century; the Shepherd of Hermas, which was written not long before

Pearson (Vindic. Ignat. P. ii. c. 10) defends it as credible, saying, that there were "two phases of the star, one in the East, and the other at Jerusalem," and that the account refers to the former.

* See particularly the whole of the Epistle to the Romans.

† Einleitung in d. N. T. i. 131. ‡ Ibid. p. 132.

the middle of the second century; what is named the Epistle of Barnabas, which was not the work of Barnabas the Apostle, and the composition of which may likewise be referred to about the middle of the second century; and the spurious Epistles of Ignatius, the fabrication of a much later age.

We have then remaining only the Epistle of Clement of Rome, and that of Polycarp, of which I shall speak hereafter.

The writings first mentioned are unimportant as affording direct historical evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels. Supposing the Gospels to have been in common use among Christians at the time of their composition, there can indeed be little doubt that they contain quotations from and references to them. But the Gospels are not spoken of nor described; there is nothing in the writings themselves clearly to designate the source or sources of those quotations and references; nor are the words alleged introduced under such circumstances, and so strikingly correspondent with the words of the Evangelists, as to satisfy us, from these considerations alone, that they must have been taken from the Gospels.

But it has been maintained, that these writings not only afford no proof of this fact, but that they, together with the Epistles of Clement and Polycarp, show that gospels different from those we now have were in common use among the companions and immediate successors of the Apostles. Eichhorn contends, that "the Apostolical Fathers, from Barnabas and Clement of Rome down to Polycarp, used in their writings, genuine and *spurious* [that is, in those which they did and in those which they did not write], texts of the Life of Jesus in many respects different from those of our Matthew, Mark, and Luke."* This extraordinary proposition is maintained by arguments corresponding to its character; for these arguments are founded principally on passages in works which Eichhorn does not suppose to be genuine, and which, from the very circumstance of their being spurious, we may infer could not even have been in existence during the lifetime of those to whom they are ascribed. As regards the Epistles of Clement and Polycarp, his great argument for maintaining that their authors quoted histories of Christ different from the canonical Gospels is, that words of Jesus are brought together which do not in those Gospels stand in immediate connection, and that there is sometimes a want of verbal correspondence. The force of this mode of reasoning has already been sufficiently examined. Enough,

* Einleitung in d. N. T. i. 114.

likewise, has been said respecting the theory of an Original Gospel, and of such modifications of it as the Apostolical Fathers are imagined to have quoted; and this theory may now be dismissed from consideration.

The Epistles of Clement and Polycarp both contain words of Jesus quoted in such a manner, and so correspondent to words reported by Matthew and Luke,* that, if taken from any book, we may, in this stage of the argument, conclude, without hesitation, that they were taken from the Gospels. But a doubt arises, whether those words might not have been received immediately by oral communication from Apostles and other immediate disciples of Jesus; especially when we recollect that Irenæus says, that he had heard Polycarp repeating the oral relations of John, and of other hearers of the Lord, concerning the doctrine and miracles of Jesus, all conformably to the Scriptures, that is, to the Gospels.† The knowledge which Polycarp derived from the hearers of our Lord, Clement may have received in the same manner; and therefore, though we may appeal to their writings as proving the authenticity of the Gospels, we cannot appeal to them as affording *direct* proof of the genuineness of the Gospels.

The manner in which the writings ascribed to Apostolical Fathers have been adduced in proof of the genuineness of the Gospels is the result, as it seems to me, of an imperfect view of the nature of that proof. The mode of reasoning by which we may establish the genuineness of the Gospels has been regarded as much more analogous than it is to that by which we prove historically the genuineness of other ancient books; that is to say, through the mention of their titles and authors, and quotations from and notices of them, in individual, unconnected writers. This mode of reasoning is, in its nature, satisfactory; and would be so in its application to the Gospels, if the question of their genuineness did not involve the most momentous of all questions in the history of our race,—whether Christianity be a special manifestation of God's love toward man, or only the most remarkable developement of those tendencies to fanaticism that exist in human nature. Reasoning in the manner supposed, we find their genuineness unequivocally asserted by Irenæus; we may satisfy ourselves that they were received as genuine by Justin Martyr; we find the Gospels of Matthew and Mark mentioned in the beginning of the second century by Papias;

* See Lardner.

† See before, p. 339.

and to the genuineness of St. Luke's Gospel we have his own attestation in the Acts of the Apostles. Confining ourselves to this narrow mode of proof, we arrive at what in a common case would be a satisfactory conclusion. But, when we endeavour to strengthen this evidence by appealing to the writings ascribed to Apostolical Fathers, we in fact weaken its force. At the very extremity of the chain of evidence, where it ought to be strongest, we are attaching defective links which will bear no weight.

But the direct historical evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels, as it has been the purpose of this volume to show, is of a very different kind from what we have just been considering. It consists in the indisputable fact, that throughout a community of millions of individuals, scattered over Europe, Asia, and Africa, the Gospels were regarded with the highest reverence, as the works of those to whom they are ascribed, at so early a period that there could be no difficulty in determining whether they were genuine or not, and when every intelligent Christian must have been deeply interested to ascertain the truth. And this fact does not merely involve the testimony of the great body of Christians to the genuineness of the Gospels; it is in itself a phenomenon admitting of no explanation, except that the four Gospels had all been handed down as genuine from the Apostolic age, and had everywhere accompanied our religion as it spread through the world.

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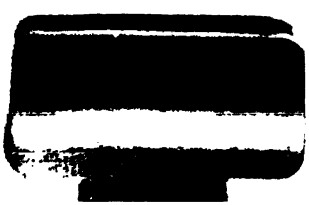
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